



*Effigies D. Joannis Crin Episcopi
Dunelmensis &c*



*Effigies D. Joannis Crin Episcopi
Dunelmensis &c*

William Doulos THE
HISTORY
OF POPISH

Transubstantiation.

To which is Premised and opposed
The CATHOLICK DOCTRIN
OF THE
HOLY SCRIPTURE,
The *Ancient Fathers* and the *Reformed Churches,*
About the Sacred Elements, and Presence of
CHRIST in the Blessed
Sacrament of the Eucharist.

Written Nineteen years ago in *Latine*
By the Right Reverend Father in GOD,

J O H N,

Late Lord Bishop of *DURHAM,*
And allowed by him to be published a little before
his Death, at the earnest request of his Friends.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *Andrew Clark* for *Henry Brome* at the
Gun at the West end of *St. Paul's,* 1676.



is
n
E
n
th
in
w
e

To the Right Honourable,
HENEAGE Lord *FINCH*,
Baron of *Darenty*, Lord Keeper
of the Great Seal of *England*.

My Lord,



He Excellency of this
Book answers the
greatness of its Au-
thor, and perhaps the
badness of the Version
is also proportioned to the mean-
ness of the Translator. But the
English being for those that could
not understand the Original that
they also might be instructed by so
instructive a Discourse, I hope
with them my good intent will
excuse my fault; only my fear is,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

I shall want a good Plea where-
with to sue out my pardon for ha-
ving intituled a person of the
highest honour to so poor a labour
as is this of mine. My Lord, these
were the inducements which set
me upon this attempt, it being
the subject of the Book, to clear
and assert an important truth, which
is as a Criterion whereby to know
the Sons of the Church of *England*
from her Adversaries on both
hands, those that adore, and those
that profane the blessed Sacrament;
these that destroy the visible Sign,
and those that deny the invisible
Grace: I thought I might justly
offer it to so pious and so great a
Son of this Church, who own'd
her

The Epistle Dedicatory.

her in her most calamitous condition, and defends her in her happy and most envied restauration. I was also perswaded that the Translation, bearing your illustrious name, would be thereby much recommended to many, and so become the more generally useful. And I confided much in your goodness and affability, who being by birth and merits raised to a high eminency, yet doth willingly *con-*
descend to things and persons of low
estate.

My Lord, I have only this one thing more to alledge for my self: That besides the attestation of publick fame which I hear of a long time speaking loud for you, I

The Epistle Dedicatory.

have these many years lived in a Family where your Vertues being particularly known are particularly admired and honoured; so that I could not but have an extraordinary respect and veneration for your Lordship, and be glad to have any occasion to express it. If these cannot clear me I must remain guilty of having taken this opportunity of declaring my self

Your Lordships

Most humble and

most obedient Servant

Luke de Beaulieu.

THE
PUBLISHER
TO THE
READER.



I *t is now nineteen years since this Historical Treatise was made by the Right Reverend Father in God John Cofin, when (in the time of the late accursed Rebellion) he was an Exile in Paris for his Loyalty and Religion's sake ; for being then commanded to remain in that City by his gracious Majesty that now is, (who was departing into Germany by reason of a League newly made by the French King with our wicked Rebels) he was also ordered by him, as he had been before by his blessed Father, Charles the First, a Prince never enough to be commended, to perform Divine Offices in the Royal Chappel, and to endeavour to keep and confirm in the Protestant Religion, professed by the Church of England, his fellow-Exiles, both of the Royal Family and others his Country-men who then lived*
in

To the Reader.

In that place. Now the occasion of his writing this Piece was this: When his Gracious Majesty had chosen Colen for the place of his residence, being solemnly invited, he visited a neighbouring Potent Prince of the Empire, of the Roman Perswasion; where it fell out, as it doth usually where Persons of different Religions do meet; some Jesuits began to discourse of Controversies with those Noblemen and Worthies, (who never forsook their Prince in his greatest Straights, but were his constant Attendants, and Imitators of his ever constant Profession of the Reformed Religion) charging the Church of England with Heresie, especially in what concerns the Blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper. They would have it, that our Church holds no real, but only a kind of imaginary presence of the Body and Bloud of Christ; but that the Church of Rome retained still the very same faith concerning this sacred Mystery, which the Catholick Church constantly maintained in all Ages; to wit, that the whole substance of the Bread and wine is changed into the substance of the Body and Bloud of Christ, and right-well called Transubstantiation by the Council of Trent. This, and much more to the same purpose was pronounced by the Jesuits, in presence of His Majesty and the German Prince, with as much positivenesse and confidence, as if it had been a clear and self-evident truth owned by all the Learned.

His

To the Reader.

His Sacred Majesty, and his Noble Attendants knew well enough that the Jesuits did shamelessly belie the Church of England, and that their brags about Roman Transubstantiation were equally false and vain: But the German Prince having recommended to the perusal of those Honourable Persons that followed the King a Manuscript wherein (as he said) was proved by Authentick Authors all that had been advanced by the Jesuits. They thought it fit to acquaint the Reverend Dr. Cosin with the whole business, and intreat him that he would vindicate the Church of England from the Calumny, and plainly declare what is her avowed Doctrine and belief about the true and real Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. Hereupon our worthy Doctor, who was ever ready and zealous to do good, especially when it might benefit the Church of God, fell presently to work, and writ this excellent Treatise as an Answer to the Prince's Manuscript, that if those worthy Persons pleased they might repay his Highness kindness in kind: Yet notwithstanding the solicitations of those that occasioned it, and of others that had perused it, he would not yield to have it made publick while a few months before he died; because having composed it for particular Friends, he thought it sufficient, that
it

To the Reader.

it had been useful to them. But the Controversie about the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, being of late years resumed with much vigour, and even now famous by the learned and eloquent Disputes of Monsieur Claude, Minister of the Reformed Church in Paris, and Monsieur Arnold Doctor of Sorbon, and others, who moved by their example, have entred the Lists. The reiterated and more earnest importunities of his friends obtained at last his consent for the publication of this Work; and the rather, because he thought that the Error constantly maintained by the famous Doctor of Sorbon was by a lucky anticipation clearly and strongly confuted throughout this Book, for whatever the Fathers have said about the true and real Presence of the Body and Bloud of Christ in the Sacrament, that stout Roman Champion applies to his Transubstantiation, and then crows over his Adversaries supposing that he hath utterly overthrown the Protestants cause; whereas there is such a wide difference, as may be called a great Gulf fixed betwixt the true or real Presence of Christ in the Lords Supper, and the Transubstantiation of the Bread and wine into his Body and Bloud. This last is such a Prodigie as is neither taught by Scripture, nor possible to be apprehended by faith; it is
repugnant

To the Reader.

repugnant to right reason, and contrary to sense; and is no where to be found in Ancient Writers: But the other is agreeable to Scripture, and to the Analogy of faith; it is not against Reason, although being spiritual it cannot be perceived by our bodily senses, and it is back'd by the constant and unanimous Doctrine of the holy Fathers. For it makes nothing against it, that sometimes the same Fathers do speak of the Bread and Wine of the holy Eucharist as of the very Body and Bloud of Christ, it being a manner of speech very proper and usual in speaking of Sacraments to give to the sign the name of the thing signified: And however they explain themselves in other places, when they frequently enough call the Sacramental Bread and Wine Types, Symbols, Figures, and Signs of the Body and Bloud of Christ; thereby declaring openly for us against the Maintainers of Transubstantiation. For we may safely, without any prejudice to our Tenet use those Expressions of the Ancients which the Papists think to be most favourable to them, taking them in a Sacramental sense, as they ought to be; whereas, the last mentioned, that are against them, none can use, but by so doing he necessarily destroys the whole contrivance of Transubstantiation, it being altogether inconsistent

To the Reader.

sistent to say, the Bread is substantially changed into the Body of Christ, and the Bread is a Figure, a Sign, and a Representation of the Body of Christ. For, what hath lost its being can in no wise signify, or represent any other thing: Neither was ever any thing said to represent and be the Figure and Sign of it self. But this is more at large treated of in the Book it self.

Now having given an account of the occasion of writing and publishing this Discourse, perhaps the Reader will expect that I should say something of its excellent Author: But should I now undertake to speak but of the most memorable things that concern this great Man, my thoughts would be overwhelmed with their multitude, and I must be injurious both to him and my Readers, being confined within the narrow limits of a Preface. But what cannot be done here may be done somewhere else, God willing. This only I would not have the Reader to be ignorant of, That this Learned man and (as appears by this) constant Professor and Defender of the Protestant Religion was one of those who was most vehemently accused of Popery by the Presbyterians before the late Wars, and for that reason bitterly persecuted by them, and forced to forsake his Country; whereby he secured himself from the violence

To the Reader.

*lence of their Hands, but not of their
Tongues; for still the good men kept up the
noise of their clamorous Accusation even while
he was writing this most substantial Treatise
against Transubstantiation.*

John Durel.

CHAP.

THE HISTORY OF

THE CITY OF
NEW-YORK
FROM THE FIRST
SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT
TIME


IN TWO VOLUMES

BY

CHAP. I.

1. The Real, that is, true and not imaginary Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper is proved by Scripture.

2 and 3. Yet this favours not the Tenet of Transubstantiation, being it is not to be understood grossly and carnally, but spiritually and Sacramentally. 4. The nature and use of the Sacraments. 5. By means of the Elements of Bread and Wine, Christ himself is spiritually eaten by the Faithful in the Sacrament. 6. The eating and presence being spiritual are not destructive of the truth and substance of the thing. 7. The manner of Presence is unsearchable, and ought not to be presumptuously defined.

1.  Those words which our blessed Saviour used in the institution of the Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist, *This is my* Matt. 26.
body which is given for you; This is my blood Luk. 22.
which is shed for you, for the remission of sins, 19.

B

are

are held and acknowledged by the Universal Church to be most true and infallible: And if any one dares oppose them, or call in question Christs Veracity, or the truth of his words, or refuse to yield his sincere assent to them, except he be allowed to make a meer figment or a bare figure of them, * we cannot, and ought not, either excuse or suffer him in our Churches; for we must embrace and hold for an undoubted truth whatever is taught by Divine

* As G. Calixtus writes in some place of his learned Exercitationes; and before him M. Chemnitius, in Exam. Con. Trid. atque in locis Theol.

Scripture. And therefore we can as little doubt of what Christ saith, *Joh. 6. 55 My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed*; which, according to St. Paul, are both given to us by the consecrated Elements: For he calls the Bread, *the Communion of Christs Body*, and the Cup, *the Communion of his blood*.

1 Cor. 10.
16.

2. Hence it is most evident that the Bread and Wine (which according to St. Paul are the Elements of the holy Eucharist) are neither changed as to their substance, nor vanish, nor reduc'd to nothing; but are solemnly consecrated by the words of Christ, that by them his blessed body and blood may be communicated to us.

3. And

3. And further it appears from the same words, that the expression of Christ and the Apostle, is to be understood in a Sacramental and mystick sense; and that no gross and carnal presence of body and blood can be maintained by them.

4. And though the word *sacrament* be nowhere used in Scripture to signify the blessed Eucharist, yet the Christian Church, ever since its Primitive ages, hath given it that name, and always called the presence of Christs body and blood therein, Mystick and Sacramental. Now a Sacramental expression doth, without any inconvenience, give to the sign the name of the thing signified: And such is as well the usual way of speaking, as the nature of Sacraments, that not only the names, but even the properties and effects of what they represent and exhibite, are given to the outward Elements. Hence (as I said before) the Bread is as clearly as positively called by the Apostle, *the Communion of the body of Christ*. Exod. 12:
21.
1 Cor. 10:
34.

5. This also seems very plain, that our Blessed Saviour's design was not so much to teach, what the Elements of Bread and Wine are by nature and substance, as what is their use and office and signification in this Mystery: For the body and

bloud of our Saviour are not only fitly represented by the Elements, but also, by vertue of his institution really offered to all, by them, and so eaten by the faithful Myſtically and Sacramentally; whence it is, that *he truly is and abides in us, and we in him.*

Joh. 6.
56.

6. This is the ſpiritual (and yet no leſs true and undoubted than if it were corporal) eating of Chriſt's fleſh, not indeed ſimply as it is fleſh, without any other reſpect (for ſo it is not given, neither would it profit us) but as it is crucified and *given* for the redemption of the world; neither doth it hinder the truth and ſubſtance of the thing, that this eating of Chriſt's body is ſpiritual, and that by it the ſouls of the Faithful, and not their ſtomachs, are fed by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt: For this none can deny, but they who being ſtrangers to the Spirit and the divine vertue, can favour only carnal things, and to whom, what is ſpiritual and Sacramental, is the ſame as if a meer nothing.

Mat. 26.
26.

7. As to the manner of the preſence of the body and bloud of our Lord in the Bleſſed Sacrament, we that are Proteſtant and Reformed according to the ancient Catholick Church, do not ſearch into the

the manner of it with perplexing inquiries; but, after the example of the primitive and purest Church of Christ, we leave it to the power and wisdom of our Lord, yielding a full and unfeigned assent to his words: Had the Romish maintainers of Transubstantiation done the same, they would not have determined and decreed, and then imposed as an Article of faith absolutely necessary to Salvation, a manner of presence, newly by them invented, under pain of the most direful Curse, and there would have been in the Church less wrangling, and more peace and unity than now is.

B 3 CHAP.

CHAP. II.

1, 2, and 3, &c. *The unanimous consent of all Protestants with the Church of England, in maintaining a real, that is, true, but not a carnal presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, proved by publick Confessions and the best of Authorities.*

1. **S**O then, none of the Protestant Churches doubt of the real (that is, true and not imaginary) Presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament; and there appears no reason why any man should suspect their common Confession, of either fraud or error, as though in this particular they had in the least departed from the Catholick faith.

2. For it is easie to produce the consent of Reformed Churches and Authors, whereby it will clearly appear (to them that are not wilfully blind) that they all zealously maintain and profess this truth, without forsaking in any wise the true Catholick Faith in this matter.

3. I begin with the Church of England; wherein they that are in holy Orders are bound by a Law and Canon, Never to teach any thing to the people to be by them believed in matters of Religion, but what agrees with the Doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and what the Catholick Fathers and Ancient Prelates have gathered and inferred out of it: Under pain of Excommunication if they transgress, troubling the people with contrary Doctrine. It teacheth therefore, that in the Blessed Sacrament, the body of Christ is given, taken and eaten; so that to the worthy Receivers, the consecrated and broken bread is the communication of the body of Christ, and likewise the consecrated Cup the communication of his blood: But that the wicked, and they that approach unworthily the Sacrament of so sacred a thing, eat and drink their own damnation, in that they become guilty of the body and blood of Christ. And the same Church in a solemn Prayer, before the consecration prays thus; Grant us, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. The Priest also, blessing or consecrating the Bread and Wine saith thus, Hear us O merciful Father,

In the Book of Canons publish'd by authority, anno 1571. ch. of preach.

Artic. of Relig. 1562.

Comm. Service.

The History

Ibid.

we most humbly beseech thee, and grant that we receiving these thy Creatures of Bread and Wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his Death and Passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood: who in the same night that he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, take, eat, this is my body which is given for you, do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after Supper he took the Cup, and when he had given thanks he gave it to them, saying, drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many for the remission of sins: Do this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me. The same, when he gives the Sacrament to the people kneeling, giving the bread, saith, The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Likewise when he gives the Cup, he saith, The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Afterwards, when the Communion is done, follows a thanksgiving; Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy Mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious

precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; With the Hymn, *Glory be to God on high, &c.* Also in the publick Authorized Catechism of our Church, appointed to be learned of all, it is answered to the question concerning the inward part of the Sacrament, that it is the body and blood of Christ which are verily and indeed taken and received by the Faithful in the Lords Supper. And in the Apology for this Church, writ by that worthy and Reverend Prelate *Fewel* Bishop of *Salisbury*, it is expressly affirmed, That to the faithful, is truly given in the Sacrament, the body and blood of our Lord, the life-giving flesh of the Son of God which quickens our souls, the bread that came from heaven, the food of immortality, grace and truth, and life: And that it is the Communion of the body and blood of Christ, that we may abide in him, and be in us; and that we may be ascertained that the flesh and blood of Christ is the food of our souls, as bread and wine is of our bodies.

Church
Catech.

4. A while before the writing of this Apology, came forth the Dialectick of the famous Dr. *Poiner* Bishop of *Winchester*; concerning the truth, nature, and substance of the body and blood of Christ in the blessed Sacrament, writ on purpose to explain and manifest the Faith and Doctrine

Doctrine of the Church of *England* in that point. In the first place it shews, *that the holy Eucharist is not only the figure, but also contains in it self the truth, nature, and substance of the body of our blessed Saviour; and that those words, nature and substance ought not to be rejected, because the Fathers used them in speaking of that Mystery.* Secondly, He inquires whether those expressions, truth, nature, and substance were used in this Mystery by the Ancients, in their common acceptation, or in a sense more particular and proper to the Sacraments? *Because we must not only observe what words they used, but also what they meant to signify and to teach by them.* And though with the Fathers he acknowledged a difference, betwixt the body of Christ in its natural form of a humane body, and that Mystick body present in the Sacrament, yet he chose rather to put that difference in the manner of presence and exhibition, than in the subject it self, *that is, the real body and blood of our Saviour; being it is most certain, that no other body is given to the faithful in the Sacrament than that which was by Christ given to death for their Redemption.* Lastly, he affirms, according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers, *that this matter must be understood in a spiritual sense, banishing all grosser and more carnal thoughts.*

5. To Bishop Poinet succeeded in the same See the right Reverend Doctors T. Bilson and L. Andrews, Prelates both of them, thoroughly learned, and great defenders of the Primitive Faith, who made it most evident by their Printed Writings, that the Faith and Doctrine of the Church of England is in all things agreeable to the holy Scriptures, and the Divinity of the Ancient Fathers. And as to what regards this Mystery, the (a) first treats of it, in his Answer to the Apology of Cardinal Alan, and the (b) last in his Answer to the Apology of Cardinal Belarmine, where you may find things worthy to be read and noted as follows. *Christ said, this is my body; in this, the object, we are agreed with you, the manner only is controverted. We hold by a firm belief that it is the body of Christ, of the manner how it comes to be so there is not a word in the Gospel; and because the Scripture is silent in this, we justly disown it to be a matter of Faith: We may indeed rank it among Tenets of the School, but by no means, among the Articles of our Christian Belief. We like well of what Durandus is reported to have said, [we hear the Word, and feel the motion, we know not the manner, and yet believe the Presence:] For we believe a Real Presence no less than you do. We dare not*

aBils. resp.
ad Card.
Alan. l. 4.
b Andr.
resp. ad
Apol. Bel.
c. 11. p. 11

be

be so bold as presumptuously to define any thing concerning the manner of a true Presence, or rather, we do not so much as trouble our selves with being inquisitive about it; no more than in Baptism, how the blood of Christ washeth us; or in the Incarnation of our Redeemer, how the Divine and Humane Nature were united together. We put it in the number of sacred things or Sacrifices, (the Eucharist it self being a Sacred Mystery) whereof the remnants ought to be consumed with fire, that is, (as the Fathers elegantly have it) ador'd by faith, but not searcht by reason.

*Caus. Ep.
to Card.
Perron.*

*Ep. Roff.
pres. ad
lith.*

*Montac. in
Ansid.
Art. 13.*

*c In a
Manu-
script
shortly
to be
Printed.*

6. To the same sense speaks *Jf. Causabon*, in the Epistle he wrote by order from King James to Cardinal Perron; so doth also *Hooker* in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Book 5. §. 67. *John Bishop of Rochester* in his Book, of the Power of the Pope; *R. Mountague Bishop of Norwich* against *Bullinger*; *James Primate of Armagh* in his Answer to the *Irish Jesuit*; *Francis Bishop of Eli*, and *William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury*, in their Answer to *Fisher*; (c) *John Overall Bishop of Norwich*, and many others in the Church of England, who never departed from the Faith and Doctrine of the ancient Catholick Fathers, which is by Law established, and with great care and veneration received and preserved in our Church.

7. To

7. To these also we may justly add that famous Prelate *Antonius de Domino Archbishop of Spalato*, a man well versed in the Sacred Writings, and the Records of Antiquity; who having left *Italy* (when he could no longer remain in it, either with quiet or safety) by the advice of his intimate Friend *Paulus Venetus*, took Sanctuary under the protection of King *James* of blessed memory, in the bosome of the Church of *England*, which he did faithfully follow in all Points and Articles of Religion: But being daily vex'd with many affronts and injuries, and wearied by the unjust persecutions of some sour and over-rigid men, who bitterly declaimed every where against his life and actions, he at last resolved to return into *Italy* with a safe conduct. Before he departed, he was, by order from the King, questioned by some Commissionated Bishops what he thought of the Religion and Church of *England*, which for so many years he had owned and obeyed, and what he would say of it in the *Roman Court*: to this Query he gave in writing this memorable answer, *I am resolved, even with the danger of my life, to profess before the Pope himself, that the Church of England is a true and Orthodox Church of Christ.*

Christ. This he not only promised but faithfully performed, for though, soon after his departure, there came a Book out of the *Low Countries*, falsely bearing his name, by whose title many were deceived even among the English, and thereby moved to tax him with Apostacy, and of being another *Eubolius*; yet when he came to *Rome* (where he was most kindly entertained in the Palace of Pope *Gregory the Fifteenth*, who formerly had been his Fellow-student) he could never be perswaded by the *Jesuits* and others who daily thronged upon him, neither to subscribe the new-devised-Tenets of the Council of *Trent*, or to retract those Orthodox Books which he had Printed in *England* and *Germany*, or to renounce the Communion of the Church of *England*, in whose defence he constantly persisted to the very last. But presently after the decease of Pope *Gregory*, he was imprisoned by the *Jesuits* and *Inquisitors* in *Castle St. Angelo*, where, by being barbarously used, and almost starved, he soon got a mortal sickness, and died in a few days, though not without suspicion of being poysoned. The day following his Corps was, by the sentence of the *Inquisition*, tyed to an infamous stake, and there burnt

burnt to ashes; for no other reason, but that he refused to make abjuration of the Religion of the Church of *England*, and subscribe some of the lately-made-Decrees of *Trent*, which were prest upon him as Canons of the Catholick Faith. I have taken occasion to insert this narration, perhaps not known to many, to make it appear, that this Reverend Prelate, who did great service to the Church of God, may justly (as I said before) be reckoned amongst the Writers of the Church of *England*.

Let us hear therefore what he taught and writ, when he was in *England*, in his Books *de Repab. Eccl. Lib. 5. Cap. 6. Num. 20.* For a thousand years together (saith he) the holy Catholick Church content with a sober knowledge of Divine Mysteries, believed soberly, and safely did teach, that in the Sacrament duly Consecrated, the Faithful did own, receive, and eat the Body and Blood of Christ, which by the Sacred Bread and Wine are given to them, but as to the particular manner how that precious Body and Blood is offered and given by that Mystrious Sacrament, the Church did humbly and religiously acknowledge her ignorance: The real thing with its effects she joyfully own'd and received, but meekly and devoutly abstained from inquiring into the manner.

Item

Item (Numb. 73.) the true and real Body of Christ is most certainly and undoubtedly given in the holy Sacrament; yet not carnally, but Spiritually. Again (Numb. 169.) I doubt not, but all they that believe the Gospel, will acknowledge that in the holy Communion we receive the true nature of the flesh of Christ, real and substantial. We all teach that the body of Christ is present as to its reality and nature, but a carnal and corporal manner of presence we reject with St. Bernard, and all the Fathers. And in Appen. ad Ambrosium, Numb. 7. I know and acknowledge that with the Bread still remaining bread, the true and real body of Christ is given, yet not corporally: I assent in the thing, but not in the manner. Therefore though there is a change in the Bread, when it brings into the Souls of worthy Communicants, the true body of Christ which is the substance of the Sacrament: Yet it doth not follow that the Bread loseth its own, to become the substance of the body of Christ, &c. These, and much more to the same purpose, agreeable to the Religion and Church of England, and all other Protestant Churches, you may find in the same Chapter, and in a Treatise annex't to the sixth Book, against the famous Jesuit, Suarez, who had writ against King James, and the Errors (as he calls them) of the Church of England:

In

In the second Chapter our Prelate proves clearly, according to its title, *That those Points which the Papists maintain against the Protestants belong not in any wise to the Catholick Faith, (as Transubstantiation, &c.)*

8. As for the opinion and belief of the German Protestants, It will be known chiefly by the *Augustan Confession*, presented to *Charles the Fifth* by the Princes of the Empire and other great Persons. For they teach, *That not only the Bread and Wine, but the Body and Bloud of Christ is truly given to the Receivers ;* or, as it is in another Edition, *That the Body and Bloud of Christ are truly present, and distributed to the Communicants in the Lords Supper,* and refute those that teach otherwise. They also declare, *That we must so use the Sacraments, as to believe and embrace by Faith those things promised which the Sacraments offer and convey to us.* Yet we may observe here, that Faith makes not those things present which are promised ; for Faith (as it is well known) is more properly said to take and apprehend, than to promise or perform: But the Word and Promise of God, on which our Faith is grounded (and not Faith it self) make that present which is promised ; as it was agreed at a Conference at *St. German* betwixt some Protestants

The *Augustan* Confession of *German Churches*

Coll. at. S. German, 1561.

and Papists : And therefore it is unjustly laid to our charge by some in the Church of *Rome*, as if we should believe, that the presence and participation of Christ, in the Sacrament, is effected meerly by the power of Faith.

The Sax-
on Con-
fession.

Art. 15.

Hil. Trin.
l. 8.

The Con-
fession of
Wittemb.

In the
Preface.

Confels.
Bohem.

9. The *Saxon* Confession, approved by other Churches, seems to be a repetition of the *Augustan* : Therein we are taught, That *Sacraments* are *actions* divinely instituted, and that although the same things or actions in common use have nothing of the nature of *Sacraments*, yet when used according to the divine institution, Christ is truly and substantially present in the *Communion*, and his Body and Bloud truly given to the *Receivers* ; so that he testifies that he is in them ; as St. *Hillary* saith, *These things taken and received make us to be in Christ, and Christ to be in us.*

10. The Confession of *Wittemberg*, which in the year 1552 was propounded to the Council of *Trent*, is like unto this : For it teacheth, That the true Body and Bloud of Christ are given in the holy *Communion*, and refutes those that say, That the Bread and wine in the Sacrament are only signs of the absent Body and Bloud of Christ.

11. The *Bohemian* Confession also, that is of them who by contempt, and out of ignorance,

ignorance, are called by some *Picards* and *Waldenses*, presented to King *Ferdinand* by the Barons and Nobles of *Bohemia*, and approved by *Luther*, and *Melancthon*, and the Famous University of *Wittemberg*, teacheth, that we ought from the heart to believe, and to profess by words, that the Bread of the Lords Supper is the true Body of Christ which was given for us, and the Wine, his true Bloud that was shed for us: And that it is not lawful for any person to bring or add any thing of his own to the words of Christ, or in the least to take any thing from them. And when this their Confession was defamed and abused by some of their Adversaries, they answered, That they would ever be ready to refute the Calumniators, and to make it appear by strong Arguments, and a stronger Faith, that they never were, and by Gods grace, never would be what their Adversaries represented them.

Art. 13.

12. In the same manner, The Conciliation of the Articles of the Lords Supper, and the mutual agreement betwixt the Churches of the greater and lesser *Polonia* in the Synod of *Sandomiris*, we hold together (say they) the belief of the words of Christ, as they have been rightly understood by the Fathers; or to speak more plain, we believe and confess, that the substantial Presence

Consensus
Polonius.

Near the
beginning.

of Christ is not only signified in the Lords Supper, but also that the Body and Bloud of our Lord is truly offered and granted to worthy Receivers, together with those sacred signs which convey to us the thing signified, according to the nature of Sacraments, and lest the different ways of speaking should breed any contention, we mutually consent to subscribe that Article concerning the Lords Supper which is in the Confession of the Churches of Saxony, which they sent to the Council of Trent; and we hold and acknowledge it to be sound and pious. Then they repeat the whole Article, mentioned and set down a little before.

Confessio
Theol. Ar-
gent. &
Basil.

13. Luther was once of opinion that the Divines of Basil and Strasbourg did acknowledge nothing in the Lords Supper besides Bread and Wine. To him Bucerus, in the name of all the rest, did freely answer, That they all unanimously did condemn that error; that neither they, nor the Switzers ever believed or taught any such thing; that none could expressly be charged with that Error, except the Anabaptists: And that he also had once been perswaded, that Luther in his Writings attributed too much to the outward Symbols, and maintained a grosser Union of Christ with the Bread than the Scriptures did allow; as though Christ had been corporally present with it, united into a natural substance with the Bread;

Bread; so that the wicked as well as the faithful were made partakers of grace by receiving the Element: But that their own Doctrine and belief concerning that Sacrament was, that the true Body and Bloud of Christ was truly presented, given, and received together with the visible signs of Bread and Wine, by the operation of our Lord, and by vertue of his institution, according to the plain sound and sense of his words; and that not only Zuinglius and Oecolampadius had so taught, but they also, in the publick Confessions of the Churches of the Upper Germany, and other Writings, confest it; so that the Controversie was rather about the manner of the presence or absence, than about the presence or absence it self; All which Eucer's Associates confirm after him. He also adds, That the Magistrates in their Churches had denounced very severe punishments to any that should deny the presence of the Body and Bloud of Christ in the Lords Supper. Bucerus did also maintain this Doctrine of the blessed Sacrament in presence of the Landgrave of Hesse and Melancthon, confessing, That together with the Sacrament we truly and substantially receive the body of Christ. Also, That the Bread and Wine are conferring signs, giving what they represent, so that together with them the Body of Christ is given and received. And to these he adds, That

the Body and Bread are not united in the mixture of their substance, but in that the Sacrament gives what it promiseth, that is, the one is never without the other; and so they agreeing on both parts, that the Bread and Wine are not changed, he holds such a Sacramental Union. Luther having heard this, declared also his opinion thus, That he did not locally include the Body and Bloud of Christ with the Bread and Wine, and unite them together by any natural connexion; and that he did not make proper to the Sacraments that vertue whereby they brought Salvation to the Receivers; but that he maintained only a Sacramental Union betwixt the Body of Christ and the Bread, and betwixt his Bloud and the Wine; and did teach, that the power of confirming our Faith, which he attributed to the Sacraments, was not naturally inherent in the outward signs, but proceeded from the operation of Christ, and was given by his Spirit, by his words, and by the Elements. And finally, in this manner he spake to all that were present; If you believe and teach that in the Lords Supper the true Body and Bloud of Christ is given and received, and not the Bread and Wine only; and that this giving and receiving is real and not imaginary, we are agreed, and we own you for dear Brethren in the Lord. All this is set down at large in the twentieth

Tome of *Luthers Works*, and in the English Works of *Bucer*.

14. The next will be the *Gallican Confession*, made at *Paris* in a National Synod, and presented to King *Charles IX.* at the Conference of *Poissy*. Which speaks of the Sacrament on this wise: *Although Christ be in heaven, where he is to remain until he come to judge the World, yet we believe that by the secret and incomprehensible virtue of his Spirit, he feeds and vivifies us by the substance of his Body and Bloud received by Faith: now we say that this is done in a spiritual* The French Confess.
Art. 36.

manner; not that we believe it to be a fancy and imagination, instead of a truth and real effect, but rather because that Mystery of our Union with Christ is of so sublime a nature, that it is as much above the capacity of our senses, as it is above the order of nature. Item, we believe that in the Lords Supper God gives us really, that is, truly, and efficaciously, whatever is represented by the Sacrament, with the signs we joyn the true Possession and fruition of the thing by them offered to us: And so, that Bread and wine which are given to us, become our spiritual nourishment, in that they make it in some manner visible to us that the Flesh of Christ is our food, and his Bloud our drink. Therefore those Fanaticks that reject these Signs and Symbols are by us rejected, our blessed

Saviour having said, *This is my body, and this Cup is my blood.* This Confession hath been subscribed by the Church of Geneva.

Lezat.
Eccel. Gall.
conf. 1555

15. The Envoyes from the French Churches to Worms made a declaration concerning that Mytery, much after the same manner: *We confess (say they) that in the Lords Supper, besides the benefits of Christ, the substance also of the Son of man, his true body, with his blood shed for us, are not only figuratively signified by Types and Symbols, as memorials of things absent; but also, truly and certainly presented, given, and offered to be applied, by signs that are not bare and destitute, but (on Gods part, in regard of his offer and promise) always undoubtedly accompanied with what they signifie, whether they be offered to good or bad Christians.*

Belg.
Conf.
Art. 35.

16. Now follows the Belgick Confession, which professeth it to be most certain, that Christ doth really effect in us what is figured by the signs, although it be above the capacity of our reason to understand which way; the operations of the Holy Ghost being always occult and incomprehensible.

Helvet.
Confess.
prior.

Ch. 21.

17. The more ancient Confession of the Switzers, made by common consent at Basil, and approved by all the Helvetic-Protestant Churches, hath it, That while the Faithful eat the bread, and drink the cup of
the

the Lord, they, by the operation of Christ working by the Holy Spirit, receive the Body and Bloud of our Lord, and thereby are fed unto Eternal life. But notwithstanding that, they affirm, that this food is spiritual, yet they afterwards conclude; That by spiritual food they understand not imaginary, but the very body of Christ which was given for us.

18: And the latter Confession of the Switzers, writ and Printed in 1566. affirms as expressly the true presence of Christs body in the Eucharist, thus: Outwardly the bread is offered by the Minister, and the words of Christ heard, Take, eat, this is my Body, drink ye all of this, this is my Bloud. Therefore the Faithful receive what Christs Minister gives, and drink of the Lords Cup: And at the same time, by the power of Christ working by the Holy Ghost, are fed by the flesh and bloud of our Lord unto eternal life, &c. Again, Christ is not absent from his Church celebrating his holy Supper. The Sun in heaven, being distant from us, is nevertheless present by his efficacy; how much more shall Christ the Sun of righteousness, who is bodily in heaven, absent from us, be spiritually present to us by his life-giving virtue, and as he declared in his last Supper he would be present, Joh. 14. 15, 16, whence it follows that we have no Communion without

Helvet.
Conf. po-
sterior.

without Christ. Now to this Confession, not only the Reformed *Switzers* did subscribe, but also the Churches of *Hungary, Pannonia, or Transilvania, Poland, and Lithuania,* which follow neither the *Auguſtan* nor *Bohemian* Confessions: It was subscribed also by the Churches of *Scotland* and *Geneva.*

Conf.
Thorun.

19. Lastly, Let us hear the renowned Declaration of the Reformed Churches of *Poland,* made in the Assembly of *Thorun,* whereby they profess, that as to what concerns the Sacrament of the Eucharist, *they assent to that opinion which in the Auguſtan Confession, in the Bohemian, and that of Sandom. is confirmed by Scripture.* Then afterwards in another Declaration they explain their own Mind, thus saying:
 1. *That the Sacrament consisteth of earthly things, as Bread and wine; and things heavenly, as the Body and Bloud of our Lord; both of which, though in a different manner, yet most truly and really, are given together at the same time; earthly things, in an earthly, corporal, and natural way; heavenly things, in a mystick, spiritual, and heavenly manner.*
 2. Hence they infer, *That the Bread and Wine are, and are said to be, with truth, the very Body and Bloud of Christ; not substantially indeed, that is, not corporally, but Sacramentally*

mentally and Mystically, by vertue of the Sacramental Union; which consisteth not in a bare signification or obligation only, but also in a real exhibition and communication of both parts, earthly and heavenly, together at once, though in a different manner. 3. In that sense they affirm with the Ancients, That the Bread and wine are changed into the Body and Bloud of Christ, not in nature and substance, but in use and efficacy; in which respect the sacred Elements are not called what they are to sense, but what they are believed and received by faith grounded on the Promise. 4. They deny to believe the signs to be bare, inefficacious, and empty, but rather such as truly give what they seal and signifie, being efficacious instruments and most certain means whereby the Body and Bloud of Christ, and so, Christ himself with all his benefits, is set forth and offered to all Communicants, but conferred and given to true Believers, and by them received as the saving and vivifying food of their Souls. 5. They deny not the true presence of the body and bloud of Christ in the Lords Supper, but only the Corporal manner of his Presence. They believe a Mystical Union betwixt Christ and us, and that, not imaginary, but most true, real, and efficacious. 6. Thence they conclude, That not only the vertue, efficacy, operation, or benefits of Christ are communicated to us, but more especially

especially the very substance of his Body and Bloud, so that, he abides in us, and we in him.

Comm.
on 1 Cor.

Instit.
Book 4.
Ch. 17.

20. Now because great is the fame of Calvin (who subscribed the *Augustan* Confession, and that of the *Switzers*) let us hear what he writ and believed concerning this sacred Mystery : His words in his Institutions and elsewhere are such, so conformable to the stile and mind of the Ancient Fathers, that no Catholick Protestant would wish to use any other. *I understand* (saith he) *what is to be understood by the words of Christ ; that he doth not only offer us the benefits of his Death and Resurrection, but his very body, wherein he died and rose again. I assert that the body of Christ is really (as the usual expression is) that is, truly given to us in the Sacrament, to be the saving food of our souls. Also in another place, Item, That word cannot lie, neither can it mock us ; and except one presumes to call God a deceiver he will never dare to say, that the Symbols are empty, and that Christ is not in them. Therefore if by the breaking of the bread our Saviour doth represent the participation of his body, it is not to be doubted but that he truly gives and confers it. If it be true that the visible sign is given us, to seal the gift of an invisible thing, we must firmly believe, that*
receiving

receiving the signs of the body, we also certainly receive the body it self. Setting aside all absurdities, I do willingly admit all those terms that can most strongly express the true and substantial Communication of the Body and Bloud of Christ, granted to the Faithful with the Symbols of the Lords Supper; and that, not as if they received only by the force of their imagination, or an act of their minds, but really, so as to be fed thereby unto Eternal life. Again, we must therefore confess that the inward substance of the Sacrament is joyned with the visible sign, so that, as the Bread is put into our hand, the Body of Christ is also given to us. This certainly, if there were nothing else, should abundantly satisfie us, that we understand, that Christ, in his Holy Supper, gives us the true and proper substance of his Body and Bloud, that it being wholly ours, we may be made partakers of all his benefits and graces. Again, The Son of God offers daily to us in the holy Sacrament, the same body which he once offered in sacrifice to his Father, that it may be our spiritual food. In these he asserts, as clearly as any one can, the true, Real, and substantial Presence and Communication of the Body of Christ, but how, he undertakes not to determine. If any one (saith he) ask me concerning the manner, I will not be ashamed to confess that it is a secret

Treat. of
the Lords
Supper.

Inst. B. 4.
Ch. 17.
Num. 32.

too high for my reason to comprehend, or my tongue to express; or to speak more properly, I rather feel than understand it: Therefore without disputing I embrace the truth of God, and confidently repose on it. He declares that his *Flesh is the food, and his Bloud the drink of my Soul: And my Soul I offer to him to be fed by such nourishment. He bids me take, eat, and drink his Body and Bloud, which in his holy Supper he offers me under the Symbols of Bread and Wine: I make no scruple, but he doth reach them to me, and I receive them. All these are Calvins own words.*

21. I was the more willing to be long in transcribing these things at large, out of publick Confessions of Churches, and the best of Authors; that it might the better appear, how injuriously Protestant Divines are calumniated by others unacquainted with their opinions, as though by these words, *Spiritually and Sacramentally*, they did not acknowledge a true and well-understood-*real* Presence and Communication of the Body and Bloud of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament; whereas on the contrary, they do professedly own it, in terms as express as any can be used.

CHAP. III.

1. What the Papists do understand by Christ being spiritually present in the Sacrament.
2. What St. Bernard understood by it.
3. What the Protestants.
4. Faith doth not cause, but suppose the presence of Christ.
5. The Union betwixt the Body of Christ and the Bread is Sacramental.

1. **H**AVING now, by what I have said, put it out of doubt, that the Protestants believe a *spiritual* and *true* presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which is the reason, that according to the example of the Fathers, they use so frequently the term *spiritual* in this subject; it may not be amiss to consider in the next place, how the *Roman* Church understands that same word. Now they make it to signifie, That Christ is not present in the Sacrament, either after that manner which is natural to corporal things, or that wherein his own body subsists in heaven, but according to the manner

Bell. de
Euch. l. 1.
c. 2. §. 3.
Reg. &
sequ.

of

of Existence proper to Spirits, whole and entire in each part of the Host: And though by himself he be neither seen, toucht, nor moved, yet in respect of the Species or accidents joyned with him, he may be said to be seen, toucht, and moved:

Ibid.
Part. I.

And so the accidents being moved, the body of Christ is truly moved accidentally, as the Soul truly changeth place with the Body; so that we truly and properly say that the body of Christ is removed, lifted up, and set down, put on the Patent, or on the Altar, and carried from hand to mouth, and from the mouth to the stomach; as Berengarius was forced to acknowledge in the Roman Council under Pope Nicholas, that the Body of Christ was sensually toucht by the hands, and broken and chewed by the teeth of the Priest. But all this, and much more to the same effect, was never delivered to us, either by holy Scripture, or the ancient Fathers. And if Souls or Spirits could be present, as here Bellarmine teacheth, yet it would be absurd to say that bodies could be so likewise, it being inconsistent with their nature.

Ibid.
§ 5. Reg.

St Bern.
Serm de
S. Martin.

2. Indeed Bellarmine confesseth with St. Bernard, That Christ in the Sacrament is not given to us carnally, but spiritually; and would to God he had rested here, and not outgone the holy Scriptures, and the Doctrine of the Fathers. For endeavouring,
with

with Pope Innocent III. and the Council of Trent, to determine the manner of the presence and Manducation of Christs body, with more nicety than was fitting, he thereby foolishly overthrew all that he had wisely said before, denied what he had affirmed, and opposed his own Opinion. *His fear was lest his Adversaries should apply that word spiritually, not so much to express the manner of presence, as to exclude the very substance of the Body and Bloud of Christ; therefore (saith he) upon that account it is not safe to use too much that of St. Bernard, The body of Christ is not Corporally in the Sacrament, without adding presently the above-mentioned explanation.* How much do we comply with humane pride, and curiosity, which would seem to understand all things! Where is the danger? And what doth he fear, as long as all they that believe the Gospel, own the true nature, & the real and substantial presence of the body of Christ in the Sacrament, using that Explication of St. Bernard concerning the manner, which he himself, for the too great evidence of truth, durst not but admit? And why doth he own that the manner is spiritual, not carnal, and then require a carnal presence, as to the manner it self? As for us, we all openly profess with St. Ber-

nard, that the presence of the body of Christ in the Sacrament, is spiritual, and therefore true and real; and with the same *Bernard*, and all the Ancients, we deny that the Body of Christ is carnally either present or given. The thing we willingly admit, but humbly and religiously forbear to enquire into the manner.

3. We believe a Presence and Union of Christ with our soul and body, which we know not how to call better than Sacramental, that is, effected by eating; that while we eat and drink the consecrated Bread and Wine, we eat and drink therewithal the Body and Blood of Christ, not in a corporal manner, but some other way, incomprehensible, known only to God, which we call spiritual; for if with *St. Bernard* and the Fathers a man goes no further, we do not find fault with a general explication of the manner, but with the presumption and self-conceitedness of those who boldly and curiously inquire what is a spiritual presence, as presuming that they can understand the manner of acting of Gods holy Spirit. We contrariwise confess with the Fathers, that this manner of presence is unaccountable, and past finding out, not to be searcht and
 pried

pried into by Reason, but believed by Faith. And if it seems impossible that the flesh of Christ should descend, and come to be our food, through so great a distance; we must remember how much the power of the holy Spirit exceeds our sense and our apprehensions, and how absurd it would be to undertake to measure his Immensity by our weakness and narrow capacity; and so make our Faith to conceive and believe what our Reason cannot comprehend.

4. Yet our Faith doth not cause or make that Presence, but apprehends it as most truly and really effected by the word of Christ: And the Faith whereby we are said to eat the flesh of Christ, is not that only whereby we believe that he died for our sins (for this Faith is required and supposed to precede the Sacramental Manducation) but more properly, that whereby we believe those words of Christ, *This is my Body*; which was St. Austins meaning when he said, *why dost thou prepare thy stomach and thy teeth? Believe and thou hast eaten*. For in this Mystical eating by the wonderful power of the Holy Ghost, we do invisibly receive the substance of Christs Body and Bloud, as much as if we should eat and drink both visibly.

Aug. super
F. b.
Tract. 29.

5. The result of all this is, That the Body and Bloud of Christ are Sacramental-ly united to the Bread and Wine, so that Christ is truly given to the Faithful; and yet is not to be here considered with sense or worldly reason, but by Faith, resting on the words of the Gospel. Now it is said, that the Body and Bloud of Christ are joyned to the Bread and Wine, because, that in the celebration of the holy Eucharist, the Flesh is given together with the Bread, and the Bloud together with the Wine. All that remains is, That we should with faith and humility admire this high and sacred Mystery, which our tongue cannot sufficiently explain, nor our heart conceive.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

1. *Of the change of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Bloud of Christ, which the Papists call Transubstantiation.*
2. *Of Gods Omnipotency.*
3. *Of the Accidents of the Bread.*
4. *The Sacramental Union of the thing signified with the sign.*
- 5 and 6. *The question is stated Negatively and Affirmatively.*
7. *The definition of the Council of Trent. The Bull of Pope Pius IV. and the form of the Oath by him appointed. The Decretal of Innocent III. The Assertions of the Jesuits.*
8. *Transubstantiation a very monstrous thing.*

1. **I**T is an Article of faith in the Church of Rome, that in the Blessed Eucharist the substance of the Bread and Wine is reduced to nothing, and that in its place succeeds the Body and Bloud of Christ, as we shall see more at large § 6,

and 7. The Protestants are much of another mind; and yet none of them denies altogether but that there is a conversion of the Bread into the Body (and consequently of the Wine into the Bloud) of Christ: For they know and acknowledge that in the Sacrament, by vertue of the words and blessing of Christ, the condition, use, and office of the Bread is wholly changed, that is, of common and ordinary, it becomes our Mystical and Sacramental food; whereby, as they affirm and believe, the true Body of Christ is not only shadowed and figured, but also given indeed, and by worthy Communicants truly received. Yet they believe not that the bread loseth its own, to become the substance of the Body of Christ; for the holy Scripture, and the ancient Interpreters thereof for many ages, never taught such an Essential change and conversion, as that the very substance, the matter and form of the Bread should be wholly taken away, but only a mysterious and Sacramental one, whereby our Ordinary is changed into Mystick bread, and thereby designed and appointed to another use, end, and office than before: This change, whereby supernatural effects are wrought by things natural, while their
Essence

Essence is preserved entire, doth best agree with the grace and power of God.

2. There is no reason why we should dispute concerning Gods Omnipotency, whether it can do this or that, presuming to measure an infinite power by our poor ability which is but weakness. We may grant that he is able to do beyond what we can think or apprehend, and resolve his most wonderful acts into his absolute will and power, but we may not charge him with working contradictions. And though Gods Almightyness were able in this Mystery to destroy the substance of Bread and Wine, and essentially to change it into the Body and Bloud of Christ, while the accidents of Bread and Wine subsist of themselves without a subject, yet we desire to have it proved that God will have it so, and that it is so indeed. For, that God doth it because he can, is no Argument; and that he wills it, we have no other proof but the confident Assertion of our Adversaries. *Tertullian* against *Praxias* declared, *That we should not conclude God doth things because he is able, but that we should enquire what he hath done*; For God will never own that praise of his Omnipotency, whereby his unchange-

ableness and his truth are impaired, and those things overthrown and destroy'd, which, in his word, he affirms to be; for, take away the Bread and Wine, and there remains no Sacrament.

3. They that say, that the matter and form of the Bread are wholly abolished, yet will have the accidents to remain: But if the substance of the Bread be changed into the substance of Christs Body, by vertue of his words, what hinders that the accidents of the Bread are not also changed into the accidents of Christs Body? They that urge the express Letter, should shew that Christ said, This is the substance of my Body without its accidents. But he did not say, That he gave his Disciples a Phantastick Body, such a visionary figment as *Marcion* believed, but that very Body which was given for us, without being deprived of that extention and other accidents of humane bodies without which it could not have been crucified, since the Maintainers of Transubstantiation grant that the Body of Christ keeps its quantity in Heaven, and say it is without the same in the Sacrament; they must either acknowledge their contradiction in the matter, or give over their opinion.

4. Protestants

4. Protestants dare not be so curious, or presume to know more than is delivered by Scripture and Antiquity, they firmly believing the words of Christ, make the form of this Sacrament to consist in the Union of the thing signified with the sign, that is, the exhibition of the Body of Christ with the consecrated bread, still remaining bread; by divine appointment these two are made one; and though this Union be not natural, substantial, personal, or local by their being one within another, yet it is so straight and so true, that in eating the blessed Bread, the true body of Christ is given to us, and the names of the sign and thing signified are reciprocally changed, what is proper to the body is attributed to the bread, and what belongs only to the bread, is affirmed of the body, and both are united in time, though not in place. For the presence of Christ in this Mystery is not opposed to distance but to absence, which only could deprive us of the benefit and fruition of the object.

5. From what hath been said it appears, that this whole controversie may be reduced to four Heads; 1. Concerning the Signs; 2. Concerning the thing signified; 3. Concerning

3. Concerning the Union of both; and
4. Concerning their participation; As
for the first, The Protestants differ from
the Papiſts in this, that according to the
nature of Sacraments, and the Doctrine
of holy Scripture we make the substance
of Bread and Wine, and they acci-
dents only to be signs. In the second, they
not understanding our opinion do mis-
represent it, for we do not hold (as they
say we do) that only the merits of the
Death of Christ are represented by the
blessed Elements, but also that his very
Body which was crucified, and his Blood
which was shed for us, are truly signified
and offered, that our Souls may receive
and possess Christ, as truly and certainly
as the material and visible signs are by us
seen and received. And so in the third
place, because the thing signified is offered
and given to us, as truly as the sign it
self, in this respect we own the Union be-
twixt the Body and blood of Christ,
and the Elements, whose use and office
we hold to be changed from what it was
before. But we deny what the Papiſts
affirm, that the substance of Bread
and Wine are quite abolished, and
changed into the Body and Blood of our
Lord in such sort, that the bare accidents
of

of the Elements do alone remain united with Christs Body and Bloud. And we also deny that the Elements still retain the nature of Sacraments when not used according to divine institution, that is, given by Christs Ministers, and received by his People; so that Christ in the consecrated bread ought not, cannot be kept and preserved to be carried about, because he is present only to the Communicants. As for the fourth and last point, we do not say, that in the Lords Supper we receive only the benefits of Christs Death and Passion, but we joyn the ground with its fruits, that is, Christ with those advantages we receive from him, affirming with St. Paul, *That the bread which we break* 1 Cor. 10.
is xovovia, the Communion of the body of Christ, 16.
and the Cup which we bless, the Communion of his bloud; of that very substance which he took of the blessed Virgin, and afterwards carried into heaven; differing from those of Rome only in this, that they will have our Union with Christ to be corporal, and our eating of him likewise, and we on the contrary maintain it to be, indeed as true, but not carnal or natural. And as he that receives unworthily, (that is, with the mouth only, but not with a faithful heart) eats and drinks his own
 damnation,

damnation, so he that doth it worthily, receives his Absolution and Justification; that is, he that *discerns*, and then receives the Lord's Body as torn, and his Blood as shed for the redemption of the world. But that Christ (as the Papists affirm) should give his flesh and blood to be received with the mouth, and ground with the teeth, so that not only the most wicked and Infidels, but even Rats and Mice should swallow him down, this our words and our hearts do utterly deny.

6. So then, (to sum up this Controversie by applying to it all that hath been said) It is not questioned whether the Body of Christ be absent from the Sacrament duly administered according to his Institution, which we Protestants neither affirm nor believe: For it being given and received in the Communion, it must needs be that it is present, though in some manner veiled under the Sacrament, so that of it self it cannot be seen. Neither is it doubted or disputed whether the Bread and Wine, by the power of God and a supernatural vertue, be set apart and fitted for a much nobler use, and raised to a higher dignity than their nature bears; for we confess the necessity of a supernatural and heavenly change, and that
the

the signs cannot become Sacraments but by the infinite power of God, whose proper right it is to institute Sacraments in his Church, being able alone to endue them with vertue and efficacy. Finally, we do not say that our blessed Saviour gave only the figure and sign of his body ; neither do we deny a Sacramental Union of the Body and Bloud of Christ with the sacred Bread and Wine, so that both are really and substantially received together : But (that we may avoid all ambiguity) we deny that after the words and prayer of Consecration, the bread should remain bread no longer, but should be changed into the substance of the Body of Christ, nothing of the Bread but only the accidents continuing to be what they were before : And so the whole question is concerning the Transubstantiation of the outward Elements ; whether the substance of the Bread be turned into the substance of Christs Body, and the substance of the Wine into the substance of his Bloud ; or as the *Romish* Doctors describe their Transubstantiation, whether the substance of Bread and Wine doth utterly perish, and the substance of Christs Body and Bloud succeed in their place, which are both denied by Protestants.

Conc. Tri-
dent. Sess.
13. c. 4.

Ibid.
Can. 2.

Bulla Pii
Papæ 4.
Confir.
Conc. Tri-
dent.

7. The Church of Rome sings on Corpus Christi-day, This is not bread, but God and man my Saviour. And the Council of Trent doth thus define it, Because Christ our Redeemer said truly, that that was his Body, which he gave in the appearance of bread; therefore it was ever believed by the Church of God, and is now declared by this sacred Synod, that by the power of Consecration the whole substance of the bread is changed into the substance of Christs Body, and the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his Bloud, which change is fitly and properly called Transubstantiation by the holy Catholick (Roman) Church. Therefore if any one shall say, That the substance of Bread and Wine remains with the Body and Bloud of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and shall deny that wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the Bread and Wine into the substance of the Body and Bloud of Christ, the only appearance and outward form of the Bread and wine remaining, which conversion the Catholick (Roman) Church doth fitly call Transubstantiation, let him be accursed. The Pope confirming this Council, defines it after the same manner, imposeth an Oath and Declaration to the same purpose, and so makes it one of the new Articles of the Roman Faith, in the form, and under the penalty following: I. N. do profess and firmly

firm
tain
holy
God
wit
Chr
the
chan
who
and
Blou
Cath
full
deli
wit
thin
I do
I no
Faith
save
I w
my
Holy
chur
on:
brea
so d
furn
he
and

firmly believe all and every the singulars contained in the Confession of Faith allowed by the holy Church of Rome; viz. I believe in one God, &c. I also profess that the Body and Blood with the Soul and Godhead of our Saviour Jesus Christ are truly, really, and substantially in the Mass, and in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and that there is a conversion of the whole substance of the Bread into the Body, and of the whole substance of the Wine into the Blood of Christ, which conversion the Roman Catholick Church calls Transubstantiation. I fully embrace all things defined, declared, and delivered by the holy Council of Trent, and withall I do reject, condemn, and accurse all things by it accurs'd, condemned, or rejected. I do confidently believe that this Faith, which I now willingly profess, is the true Catholick Faith without the which it is impossible to be saved; and I do promise, vow, and swear, that I will constantly keep it whole and undefiled to my very last breath: So help me God and these Holy Gospels. Afterwards he bravely concludes this Decree with this Commination: Let no man therefore dare to attempt the breaking of this our Deed and Injunction, or be so desperate as to oppose it. And if any one presumes upon such an attempt, let him know that he thereby incurs the wrath of Almighty God, and of his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given

Given at Rome in St. Peters Church the Thirteenth of November in the year of our Lord 1564. the fifth of our Pontificat. Which is as much as to say, That he had received this his Roman Faith from Pope Innocent the Third, who first decided and imposed this Doctrine of the Transubstantiation of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Bloud of Christ, and made it an Article of Faith, adding this new-devised Thirteenth to the ancient Twelve Articles, for so we find it published in his Decretal propounded to the Assembly at Lateran in 1215. and proclaimed afterwards by his Nephew Pope Gregory the Ninth. Thus: we firmly believe and simply acknowledge that there is one only true God, &c. and that in the Sacrament of the Altar the Body and Bloud of Christ are truly contained under the accidents of Bread and Wine, which are transubstantiated, the Bread into the Body, and the Wine into the Bloud. To these definitions of Popes I will add only the Tenets of three Jesuits, which are highly approved by the late followers of the new Roman Faith. First, Of Alphonsus Salmeron, We must of necessity (saith he) hold Transubstantiation, that the substance of Bread and Wine, which Luther and some others admit, may be excluded; that the words of Christ

*Decret. de
sum. Trin.
& fide
Cathol.
Tit. 1.*

*Tom. 9.
Tract. 16.*

Christ (which yet are most true without that) may be verified; that how few of these many are pertinent to their purpose will be seen hereafter; many Testimonies of the Fathers, concerning Conversion, Mutation, Consecration, Benediction, Transformation, Sanctification (for by all these names almost, they have called Transubstantiation) may stand firm, and not be vain and insignificant; and lastly, that we may maintain a solid presence of the Body and Bloud of Christ. Item, as David changed his Countenance before Abimelech, and then received the Shew bread, that was a certain Type of the Eucharist, so Christ in the Sacrament feigns himself to be bread, and yet is not bread, though he seems so to be most visibly. Secondly, Of Cardinal Francis Tolet; The words of Consecration are efficacious instruments whereby to Transubstantiate the substance of the Bread into the true Body of Christ; so that after they are spoken, there remains in the Host none of the substance of the Bread, but only the accidents of it, which are called the properties of the Bread, under which the true Body of Christ is present. Thirdly, and lastly, Of Cardinal Bellarmine, The Catholick Church ever taught, that by the conversion of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Bloud of Christ (which conversion hath been in after times called Transubstantiation) it comes to pass,

Tom. 16.
disp. 3. in
Ep. S. Pet.
tri.

Instr. Sa-
cerd. l. 2.
c. 27.

Lib. 2. de
Euchar.
cap. 11.

E that

that the Body and Bloud of our Lord are truly and really present in the Sacrament. It would be to no purpose to bring the Testimonies of others of the Latine or Roman Church who give to the Pope an absolute power of defining what he pleaseth, for they are but the same stuff as these: but if any one hath a mind let him consult *Gretserus* his defence of *Bellarmino*, or his Dialogue who first writ against *Luther*, who both reduce the whole matter to the judgment and decree of the Pope.

Gretf. def
Bellar.
l. 3. c. 9.
Syl. Prier.
sub initio.

8. Now we leave inquiring what God is able to do, for we should first know his will in this matter, before we examine his power: Yet thus much we say, that this *Roman* Transubstantiation is so strange and monstrous, that it exceeds the nature of all Miracles. And though God by his Almightyness be able to turn the substance of bread into some other substance, yet none will believe that he doth it, as long as it appears to our senses, that the substance of the Bread doth still remain whole and entire. Certain it is, that hitherto we read of no such thing done in the Old or New Testament, and therefore this Tenet, being as unknown to the Ancients as it is ungrounded in Scripture, appears as yet to be very incredible, and there

there is no reason we should believe such an unauthorized figment, newly invented by men, and now imposed as an Article of Christian Religion. For it is in vain that they bring Scripture to defend this their stupendous Doctrine; and it is not true, what they so often and so confidently affirm, that the Universal Church hath always constantly owned it, being it was not so much as heard of in the Church for many Ages, and hath been but lately approved by the Popes Authority in the Councils of *Lateran* and *Trent*, as I shall prove in the following Chapters.

E 2

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

That neither the word nor name of Transubstantiation, nor the Doctrine or the thing it self is taught or contained in holy Scripture, or in the Writings of the ancient Doctors of the Church, but rather is contrary to them; and therefore not of Faith.

1. **T**He word Transubstantiation is so far from being found either in the sacred Records, or in the Monuments of the ancient Fathers, that the maintainers of it do themselves acknowledge that it was not so much as heard of before the twelfth Century. For though one *Stephanus*, Bishop of *Autun*, be said to have once used it, yet it is without proof that some Modern Writers make him one of the tenth Century; nor yet doth he say, that the bread is Transubstantiated, but as it were Transubstantiated, which * well understood might be admitted.

* See ch. 1.
art. 6.
c. 3 art. 4.
c. 4. art. 5.
and this
ch. art. 5.

2. Nay, that the thing it self without the word, that the Doctrine without the expression

expression cannot be found in Scripture, is ingeniously acknowledged by the most learned Schoolmen Scotus, Durandus, Biel, Cameracensis, Cajetan, and many more, who finding it not, brought in by the Popes Authority, and received in the Roman Church, till 1200 years after Christ, yet endeavoured to defend it by other Arguments.

3. Scotus confesseth, That there is not any place in Scripture so express as to compel a man to admit of Transubstantiation, were it not that the Church hath declared for it, (that is, Pope Innocent III, in his Lateran Council.) Durandus said, That the word is found, but that by it, the manner they contend for cannot be proved. Biel affirms, That it is no where found in Canonical Scriptures. Occam declared, That it is easier, more reasonable, less inconvenient, and better agreeing with Scripture, to hold that the substance of the Bread remains. After him Cardinal Cameracensis doth also confess, That Transubstantiation cannot be proved out of the Scriptures. Nay, the Bishop of Rochester saith himself, That there is no expression in Scripture whereby that conversion of substance in the Mass can be made good. Cardinal Cajetan likewise, There is not any thing of force enough in the Gospel to make us understand in a proper sense these words, This

Scot. in
4. Sent
d. 11. q. 3.

Durand. ut
supra.

Biel in
Can. missa
lect. 4.
Occam.
Cent. 1. 4.
q. 6. & in
4. Sent
d. 11. q. 6.
Cam. in 4.
d. 11. q. 6.
L. contra
Luth de
Capt. Ba-
bil. c. 1.

Cajetan in
Tho. p. 3.
q. 75. art. 1.

Ibid. q. 45.
art. 14.

Bell. de
Euch. l. 3.
c. 23.

is my body: *Nay, that presence which the Church (of Rome) believes in the Sacrament cannot be proved by the words of Christ without the declaration of the (Roman) Church.* Lastly, Bellarmine himself doth say, *That though he might bring Scripture clear enough, to his thinking, to prove Transubstantiation by, to an easie man, yet still it would be doubtful whether he had done it to purpose, because some very acute and learned men, as Scotus, hold that it cannot be proved by Scripture.* Now in this, Protestants desire no more but to be of the opinion of those learned and acute men.

4. And indeed, the words of institution would plainly make it appear to any man that would prefer truth to wrangling, that it is with the Bread, that the Lords Body is given, (as his Bloud with the Wine) for Christ; having taken, blessed, and broken the bread, said, *This is my body*; and St. Paul, than whom none could better understand the meaning of Christ, explains it thus, *The bread which we break is the κοινωνία, Communion or communication of the body of Christ*, that whereby his body is given, and the Faithful are made partakers of it. That it was bread which he reacht to them, there was no need of any proof, the receiver's senses sufficiently convinc'd them of it; but that there-
with

with his body was given, none could have known, had it not been declared by him who is the truth it self. And though, by the divine institution and the explication of the Apostle every faithful Communicant may be as certainly assured that he receives the Lords Body, as if he knew that the Bread is substantially turned into it, yet it doth not therefore follow, that the Bread is so changed, that its substance is quite done away, so that there remains nothing present, but the very natural Body of Christ, made of bread: For certain it is, that the bread is not the Body of Christ any otherwise than as the Cup is the New Testament, and two different consequences cannot be drawn from those two not different expressions. Therefore as the Cup cannot be the New Testament but by a Sacramental figure, no more can the Bread be the Body of Christ, but in the same sense.

5. As to what *Bellarmino* and others say, That it is not possible the words of Christ can be true, but by that conversion, which the Church of *Rome* calls Transubstantiation, that is so far from being so, that if it were admitted, it would first deny the Divine Omnipotency, as though God were not able to make the Body of Christ

present, and truly to give it in the Sacrament, whilst the substance of the Bread remains. 2. It would be inconsistent with the Divine Benediction which preserves things in their proper being. 3. It would be contrary to the true nature of a Sacrament, which always consisteth of two parts. And lastly, It would in some manner destroy the true substance of the Body and Bloud of Christ, which cannot be said to be made of Bread and Wine by a Priest, without a most high presumption. But the truth of the words of Christ remains constant, and can be defended, without overthrowing so many other great truths. Suppose a Testator puts Deeds and Titles in the hand of his Heir, with these words, Take the House which I bequeath thee; There is no man will think that those Writings and Parchments are that very House which is made of Wood or Stones, and yet no man will say that the Testator spake falsely or obscurely. Likewise our blessed Saviour, having sanctified the Elements by his words and prayers, gave them to his Disciples as Seals of the New Testament, whereby they were as certainly secured of those rich and precious Legacies which he left to them, as Children are of their Fathers

Fathers Lands and Inheritance, by Deeds and Instruments signed and delivered for that purpose.

6. To the Sacred Records we may add the judgment of the Primitive Church. For those Orthodox and holy Doctors of our holier Religion, those great Lights of the Catholick Church, do all clearly, constantly, and unanimously conspire in this, That the presence of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament is only mystick and spiritual. As for the entire annihilation of the substance of the Bread and the Wine, or that new and strange Tenet of Transubstantiation, they did not so much as hear or speak any thing of it: Nay, the constant stream of their Doctrine doth clearly run against it, how great soever are the brags and pretences of the Papists to the contrary. And if you will hear them one by one, I shall bring some of their most noted passages only, that our labour may not be endless by rehearsing all that they have said to our purpose on this subject.

7. I shall begin with that holy and ancient Doctor, *Justin Martyr*, who is one of the first after the Apostles times, whose undoubted Writings are come to us. What was believed at *Rome* and elsewhere in his time, concerning this holy mystery, may

*Just. Mart.
An. Dom.*

144

may well be understood out of these his words: *After that the Bishop hath prayed, and blessed, and the people said Amen, those whom we call Deacons or Ministers give to every one of them that are present a portion of the Bread and wine; and that food we call the Eucharist, for we do not receive it as ordinary Bread and wine.* They received it as bread, yet not as common bread. And a little after, *By this food digested, our flesh and blood are fed, and we are taught that it is the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.* Therefore the substance of the Bread remains, and remains corruptible food, even after the Consecration, which can in no wise be said of the immortal Body of Christ: For the flesh of Christ is not turned into our flesh, neither doth it nourish it, as doth that food which is Sacramentally called the Flesh of Christ. But the Flesh of Christ feeds our souls unto eternal life.

St. Iren.
A.D. 160.

Lib. 4.
Cont. Hæ-
res. c. 34.

8. After the same manner, it is written by that holy Martyr *Irenæus* Bishop much about the same time. *The bread which is from the earth is no more common bread, after the invocation of God upon it, but is become the Eucharist consisting of two parts, the one earthly, and the other heavenly.* There would be nothing earthly if the substance of the bread were removed. Again,

As

As the grain of wheat falling in the ground,
and dying, riseth again much increased, and
then receiving the word of God becomes the *Lib 5.*
Eucharist (which is the Body and Bloud of *c. 12.*
Christ;) So likewise our bodies nourished by it,
laid in the ground and dissolved, shall rise again
in their time. Again, we are fed by the Creature, *Ibid.*
but it is he himself that gives it, he hath ordain-
ed and appointed that Cup which is a Creature,
and his Bloud also, and that Bread which is a
Creature, and also his Body. And so when the
Bread and the Cup are blessed by Gods word,
they become the Eucharist of the Body and Bloud
of Christ, and from them our bodies receive
nourishment and increase. Now that our
flesh is fed and encreased by the natural
body of Christ cannot be said without
great impiety by themselves that hold
Transubstantiation. For naturally no-
thing nourisheth our bodies but what is
made flesh and bloud by the last digestion,
which it would be blasphemous to say of
the incorruptible body of Christ. Yet the
sacred Elements which in some manner
are, and are said to be the body and
bloud of Christ, yield nourishment and
encrease to our bodies by their earthly
nature, in such sort, that by vertue also of
the heavenly and spiritual food which the
faithful receive by means of the material,
our

our bodies are fitted for a blessed Resurrection to immortal glory.

Tertul.

A.D. 200.

9. *Tertullian*, who flourished about the two hundredth year after Christ, when as yet he was Catholick, and acted by a pious zeal, wrote against *Marcion* the Heretick, who amongst his other impious opinions taught that Christ had not taken of the Virgin *Mary* the very nature and substance of a humane body, but only the outward forms and appearances; out of which Fountain the *Romish* Transubstantiators seem to have drawn their Doctrine of accidents abstracted from their subject hanging in the air, that is, subsisting on nothing. *Tertullian*, disputing against this wicked Heresie, draws an Argument from the Sacrament of the Eucharist to prove that Christ had not a Phantastick and imaginary, but a true and natural body, thus. The figure of the Body of Christ proves it to be natural, for there can be no figure of a Ghost or a Phantasm. But (saith he) *Christ having taken the Bread, and given it to his Disciples made it his Body by saying, This is my Body, that is, the figure of my Body. Now, it could not have been a figure except the body were real, for a meer appearance, an imaginary Phantasm is not capable of a figure.* Each part of this

Contra

Marcion

l. 4. c. 40.

Argument

Argument is true, and contains a necessary Conclusion. For 1. The bread must remain bread, otherwise *Marcion* would have returned the Argument against *Tertullian*, saying as the Transubstantiators; It was not bread, but meerly the accidents of bread, which seemed to be bread. 2. The Body of Christ is proved to be true by the figure of it, which is said to be bread: For the bread is fit to represent that divine Body, because of its nourishing vertue, which in the bread is earthly, but in the body is heavenly. Lastly, The realty of the Body is proved by that of its figure, and so if you deny the substance of the bread (as the Papists do) you thereby destroy the truth and realty of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament.

10. *Origen* also, about the same time with *Tertullian*, speaks much after the same manner, *If Christ* (saith he) *as these men* (the Marcionites) *falsly hold, had neither Flesh nor Bloud, of what manner of Flesh, of what Body, of what Bloud did he give the Signs and Images when he gave the Bread and wine?* If they be the signs and representations of the Body and Bloud of Christ, though they prove the truth of his Body and Bloud, yet they being signs, cannot be

Origen.
A D. 210.
Dial. 3. de
Hom. Christi
pro contra
Marcion.

Homil. 7.
in Lev.

Mat. 15.

Origen
is unjustly
numbred
by reason
of these
words
among the
Hereticks
called
Stereoma-
nists.

be what they signifie, and they not being what they represent, the groundless contrivance of Transubstantiation is overthrown. Also upon *Leviticus* he doth expressly oppose it thus: *Acknowledge ye that they are figures, and therefore spiritual, not carnal, examine and understand what is said, otherwise if you receive as things carnal, they will hurt, but not nourish you. For in the Gospel there is the Letter, which kills him that understands not spiritually what is said; for if you understand this saying according to the Letter, Except you eat my Flesh and drink my Bloud, the Letter will kill you.* Therefore as much as these words belong to the eating and drinking of Christs Body and Bloud, they are to be understood mystically and spiritually. Again, writing on *St. Matthew*, he doth manifestly put a difference betwixt the true and immortal, and the Typick and Mystical Body of Christ: For the Sacrament consisteth of both. *That food (saith he) which is sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer, as far as it is material, descends into the belly and is cast out into the draught; this he saith of the Typick, which is the figure of the true Body.* God forbid we should have any such thoughts of the true and heavenly Body of Christ; as they must that understand his

this
ma
ma
acc
1
glo
mo
fac
wh
wh
of
opi
ter
Chr
the
the
the
nei
the
cial
fed
spe
mu
was
of
Blo
thin
a s
said
Peo

his natural body by what *Origen* calls his material and Sacramental body, which no man in his wits can understand of meer accidents.

II. *St. Cyprian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, a glorious Martyr of Christ, wrote a famous Epistle to *Cocilius* concerning the sacred Chalice in the Lords Supper, whereof this is the sum: *Let that Cup which is offered to the people in commemoration of Christ be mixt with wine* (against the opinion of the *Aquarii* who were for water only) for it cannot represent the Bloud of Christ when there is no wine in the Cup, because the Bloud of Christ is exprest by the wine, as the Faithful are understood by the water. But the Patrons of Transubstantiation have neither Wine nor Water in the Chalice they offer; and yet without them (especially the Wine appointed by our blessed Saviour, and whereof *Cyprian* chiefly speaks) the Bloud of Christ is not so much as Sacramentally present; so far was the Primitive Church from any thing of believing a corporal presence of the Bloud, the Wine being reduced to nothing (that is to a meer accident without a substance) for then they must have said, that the Water was changed into the People, as well as the Wine into the Bloud.

S. Cyprian
A.D. 250.

L. 2 Ep. 3.
five 63.
Edit. Pa-
mel.

Bloud. But there is no need that I should bring many testimonies of that Father, when all his Writings do plainly declare that the true substance of the Bread and Wine is given in the Eucharist, that, that spiritual and quickning food which the Faithful get from the Body and Bloud of Christ, and the mutual Union of the whole People joyned into one body may answer their Type, the Sacrament which represents them.

*Con. Nice.
A.D. 325.*

*In actis
ibid. a
Gel. Cy-
ciz. con-
script.*

12. Those words of the Council of Nice are well known, whereby the Faithful are called from the consideration of the outward visible Elements of Bread and Wine, to attend the inward and spiritual act of the mind, whereby Christ is seen and apprehended. *Let not our thoughts dwell low, on that Bread and that Cup which are set before us, but lifting up our minds by faith let us consider, that on this sacred Table is laid the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world. — And receiving truly his precious Body and Bloud, let us believe these things to be the Pledges and Emblems of our Resurrection: for we do not take much, but only a little (of the Elements) that we may be mindful, we do it not for Satiety, but for Sanctification.* Now, who is there, even among the Maintainers of Transubstantiation, that will

will understand this, *not much, but a little*, of the Body of Christ? Or who can believe that the *Nicene* Fathers would call his Body and Bloud Symbols in a proper sense? When nothing can be an Image or a sign of it self. And therefore though we are not to rest in the Elements, minding nothing else. (for we should consider what is chiefest in the Sacrament, that we have our hearts *lifted up unto the Lord*, who is given together with the signs) yet Elements they are, and the earthly part of the Sacrament, both the Bread and the Wine, which destroys Transubstantiation.

13. St. *Athanasius*, famous in the time, and present in the Assembly of the *Nicene* Council, a stout Champion of the Catholick Faith, acknowledgeth none other but a spiritual Manducation of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament. *Our*

Lord (saith he) *made a difference betwixt the Flesh and the Spirit, that we might understand that what he said, was not carnal, but spiritual. For how many men could his body have fed, that the whole world should be nourished by it? But therefore he mentioned his ascension into heaven, that they might not take what he said in a corporal sense, but might understand that*

*In illud Evangelii 3
Quicumq; dixeris ver-
bum, &c. & in c. 6.
St. Joh. qui manduca-
vit carnem meam, &c.*

πνευματι-
καιν τεσ-
φωρ.

his Flesh whereof he spake is a spiritual and heavenly food given by himself from on high; for the words that I spake unto you they are spirit, and they are life, as if he should say, My Body which is shewn and given for the world, shall be given in food, that it may be distributed spiritually to every one, and preserve them all to the Resurrection to eternal life. Cardinal Perron having nothing to answer to these words of this holy Father, in a kind of despair, rejects the whole Tractate, and denies it to be Athanasius's, which nobody ever did before him, there being no reason for it.

πνευματι-
κως.

De Euch.
l. 2 c. 1.
ar. 10.

St. Cyril
of Hier.
A.D. 350.

Chatech.
myst. 3.

14. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, of the same Age with St. Athanasius, treating of the Chrisme, wherewith they then anointed those that were Baptized, speaks thus: Take heed thou dost not think that this is a meer Oyntment only. For as the Bread of the Eucharist after the Invocation of the Holy Ghost is no longer ordinary Bread, but is the Body of Christ; so this holy Oyntment is no longer a bare common Oyntment after it is consecrated, but is the gift or grace of Christ, which, by his Divine Nature, and the coming of the Holy Ghost, is made efficacious; so that the Body is anointed with the Oyntment, but the soul is sanctified by the holy and vivifying Spirit. Can any thing more clear be said?

Either

Either the Oyntment is transubstantiated by consecration into the spirit and grace of Christ, or the Bread and Wine are not transubstantiated by Consecration into the Body and Bloud of Christ. Therefore as the Oyntment retains still its substance, and yet is not called a meer or common ointment, but the *Charisme* or grace of Christ: So the Bread and Wine remaining so, as to their substance, yet are not said to be only Bread and Wine common and ordinary, but also the Body and Bloud of Christ. *Under the Type of Bread* (saith he) *the Body is given thee, and the Bloud under the type of the wine.* This *Grodecim* doth captiously and unfaithfully interpret, under the appearances of Bread and Wine; for those meer appearances or accidents subsisting without a subject never so much as entred into the mind of any of the Ancients.

15. Much to the same purpose we have in the *Anaphora* or Liturgy attributed to St. Basil, we have seen before *you the Type of the Body and Bloud of Christ*, which he calls the Bread of the Eucharist after the Consecration. If it be the Type of the Body, then certainly it cannot be the Body and nothing else: For (as we said before) nothing can be the figure of it self, no

*Chasach.
Myst. 4.
Thy bodily
Palate
(saith he)
tasteth one
thing
there, and
thy faith
another.*

*St. Basil.
A.D. 360.*

*Lib. de
Spir. Sanc.*

more than a man can be his own Son or Father. There be also Prayers in that Liturgy, *That the Bread may become the Body of Christ for the remission of sins, and life eternal to the receivers.* Now true it is, that to the faithful the Element becomes a vivifying Body, because they are truly partakers of the heavenly bread, the Body of Christ: but to others, who either receive not, or are not believers, to them the Bread may be the Antitype, but is not, neither doth become the Body of Christ, for without Faith Christ is never eaten, as is gathered from the same Father.

*Lib de
Bapt.*

*St. Greg.
Nyss A.D.
370.*

*Orat. de
S. Baptif.*

16. St. Gregory Nyssene, his Brother, doth clearly declare what change is wrought in the Bread and Wine by Consecration, saying, *As the Altar naturally is but common stone, but being consecrated becomes an holy Table, a spotless Altar; so the bread of the Eucharist is at first ordinary, but being mysteriously sacrificed, it is, and is called the Body of Christ, and is efficacious to great purposes; and as the Priest (yesterday a Lay-man) by the Blessing of Ordination, becomes a Doctor of Piety, and a Steward of Mysteries, and though not changed in body or shape, yet is transformed and made better as to his soul, by an invisible power and grace; so also by the same consequence, water, being nothing but water of it self, yet blest*

blest by a heavenly grace, renews the man, working a spiritual regeneration in him. Now let the Assertors of Transubstantiation maintain that a Stone is substantially changed into an Altar, a man into a Priest, the water in Baptism into an invisible grace, or else that the Bread is not so changed into the Body of Christ: For according to this Father there is the same consequence in them all.

17 Likewise St. Ambrose explaining what manner of alteration is in the bread, when in the Eucharist it becomes the Body of Christ, saith: *Thou hadst indeed a being, but wert an old creature, but being now Baptized or consecrated, thou art become a new creature.* The same change that happens to man in Baptism, happens to the Bread in the Sacrament: If the nature of man is not substantially altered by the new Birth, no more is the bread by Consecration. Man becomes by Baptism, not what Nature made him, but what Grace new-makes him; and *the Bread becomes by Consecration, not what it was by Nature, but what the Blessing consecrates it to be.* For Nature made only a meer man, and made only common bread; but Regeneration, of a meer man, makes a holy man, in whom Christ dwells spiritually: And likewise

St Ambr.
A D. 380.

L de Sa-
cram. 4.
cap. 4.

Ibid. de
init. myst.
cap. 9.

De Sacr.
l. 4. c. 4.

the Consecration of common bread makes Mystick and Sacramental bread. Yet this change doth not destroy Nature, but to Nature adds Grace: As is yet more plainly exprest by that holy Father in the fore-cited place. *Perhaps thou wilt say (saith he) this my bread is common bread; it is bread indeed before the blessing of the Sacrament, but when it is consecrated it becomes the Body of Christ. This we are therefore to declare, how can that which is bread be also the body of Christ? By Consecration. And Consecration is made by the words of our Lord, that the venerable Sacrament may be perfected. You see how efficacious is the word of Christ. If there be then so great a power in the word of Christ to make the Bread and Wine to be what they were not, how much greater is that power, which still preserves them to be what they were, and yet makes them to be what they were not? Therefore, that I may answer thee, it was not the Body of Christ before the Consecration, but now after the Consecration, it is the Body of Christ; he said the word and it was done; thou thy self wert before, but wert an old Creature; after thou hast been consecrated in Baptism thou art become a new creature. By these words St. Ambrose teacheth how we are to understand that the Bread is the Body of Christ, to wit, by such a change that the Bread and*
Wine

Wine do not cease to be what they were as to their substance (for then they should not be what they were) and yet by the Blessing become what before they were not. For so they are said to remain (as indeed they do) what they were by nature, that yet they are changed by grace, that is, they become assured Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ, and by that means certain pledges of our Justification and Redemption. What is there, can refute more expressly the dream of Transubstantiation?

18. St. Chrysostome doth also clearly discard and reject this carnal Transubstantiation and eating of Christs Body, without eating the bread. *Sacraments* St. Chrys. A.D. 370.
 (saith he) ought not to be contemplated and Hom. 15. in St. Job.
considered carnally, but with the eyes of our souls, that is, spiritually; for such is the nature of mysteries: where observe the opposition betwixt carnally and spiritually which admits of no plea or reply again. As in Baptism the spiritual power of Regeneration is given to the material water; so also the immaterial gift of the Body and Blood of Christ is not received by any sensible corporal action, but by the spiritual discernment of our faith, and of our hearts and minds. Which is no more than this, that sensible things are called by the name of

Ibid.

In Ep. ad
Cesar.
contra hæ-
res. Apol.

a L. de
Euch. 2.
c. 22.
b In ap-
par Chrys.
c Steph.
Gard. Ep.
Wint. cont
Pet. Mart.
lib. de
Euchar.

those spiritual things which they seal and signifie. But he speaks more plainly in his Epistle to *Casarius*; where he teacheth that in this Mystery, there is not in the bread a substantial, but a Sacramental change, according to the which, the outward Elements take the name of what they represent, and are changed in such a sort, that they still retain their former natural substance. *The bread (saith he) is made worthy to be honoured with the name of the Flesh of Christ, by the consecration of the Priest, yet the Flesh retains the proprieties of its incorruptible nature, as the bread doth its natural substance. Before the bread be sanctified we call it bread; but when it is consecrated by the divine grace, it deserves to be called the Lords Body, though the substance of the bread still remains.* When Bellarmine could not answer this testimony of that Great Doctor, he thought it enough to deny, that this Epistle is St. *Chrysostoms* (a) but both he and (b) *Possessin* do vainly contend that it is not extant among the works of *Chrysostom*. For besides that at *Florence* (c) and else where it was to be found among them, it is cited in the Collections against the *Severians* which are in the version of *Turrianus* the Jesuit, in the fourth Tome of *Antiq. lectionum* of Henry *Canisius*,

Canisius, and in the end of the book of *Joh. Damascenus* against the *Acephali*. I bring another Testimony out of the imperfect work on *St. Matthew*, written either by *St. Chrysostome*, or some other ancient Author; a Book in this at least very Orthodox, and not corrupted by the *Arrians*. In these sanctified vessels, (saith he) the true body of Christ is not contained, but the Mystery of his Body.

19. Which also hath been said by *St. Austin* above a thousand times; but out of so many almost numberless places I shall chuse only three, which are as the sum of all the rest. You are not to eat this Body which you see, nor drink this Blood which my Crucifiers shall shed, I have left you a Sacrament which, spiritually understood, will vivifie you. Thus *St. Austin* rehearsing the words of Christ again; If Sacraments had not some resemblance with those things whereof they are Sacraments, they could not be Sacraments at all. From this resemblance they often take the names of what they represent. Therefore as the Sacrament of Christ's body is in some sort his body; so the Sacrament of Faith, is faith also. To the same sense is what he writes against *Maximinus the Arrian*. We mind in the Sacraments, not what they are, but what they shew; for they are signs, which are one thing, and signifie another.

S. Austin.
A.D. 400.

In Psal.
93.

Epist. 23.
ad Bonif.

Cont. Max.
l. 3. c. 21.

De Doctr.
Christ.
cap. 7.

another. And in another place speaking of the Bread and Wine. *Let no man look to what they are, but to what they signifie, for our Lord was pleased to say, this is my Body, when he gave the sign of his body.* This passage of St. Austin is so clear, that it admits of no evasion nor no denial. For if the Sacraments are one thing, and signifie another, then they are not so changed into what they signifie, as that after that change they should be no more what they were. The water is changed in baptism as the Bread and Wine in the Lords Supper, but all that is changed is not presently abolished or Transubstantiated. For as the water remains entire in Baptism, so do the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist.

St. Prosp.
A.D. 430.

20. St. Prosper, Orthodox in all things, who lived almost in the time of Austin, teacheth, *That the Eucharist consisteth of two things, the visible appearance of the Elements, and the invisible Flesh and Bloud of our Saviour Christ, (that is, the Sacrament, and the grace of the Sacrament) as the person of Christ is both God and Man.* Who but the infamous Heretick Eutyches would say that Christ, as God, was substantially changed into man, or as man, into God?

Sent. Prof.
dist. 2. de
corp. cap.
hoc est.

B. Theo-
doret 7.

21. Upon this subject, nothing can be more clear than this of Theodor. whence we learn

learn what the Primitive Church believes in this matter. Our Saviour, in the Institution of the Eucharist, changed the names of things, giving to his body the name of its Sacrament, and to the Sacrament the name of his Body. Now this was done for this reason, as he saith, that they that are partakers of the Divine Mysteries, might not mind the nature of what they see, but by the change of names, might believe that change which is wrought by Grace. For he that called what by nature is his body, wheat and Bread; he also honoured the Elements and Signs with the names of his Body and Blood, not changing what is natural, but adding Grace to it. He therefore teacheth that such an alteration is wrought in the Elements, that still their nature and substance continues, as he explains more plainly afterwards. For when the Heretick that stands for Eutychius, had said, As the Sacrament of the Lords Body and Blood are one thing before the Prayer of the Priest, and afterwards being changed, become another; so also the Body of our Lord after his ascension is changed into the divine substance and nature (according to the Tenet of the Transubstantiator this Eutychian Argument is irrefragable, but) Catholick Antiquity answers it thus: Thou art entangled in the nets of thine own knitting; for the Elements or Mystick signs

Dial. 1.

Ibid.

Dial. 2.

L. 2. de
Euch. c. 27

signs depart not from their nature after Consecration, but remain in their former substance, form, and kind, and can be seen and toucht as much as before: and yet withal we understand also what they become now they are changed. Compare therefore the Copy with the Original, and thou shalt see their likeness. For a figure must answer to the truth. That body hath the same form, and fills the same space as before, and in a word is the same substance; but after its resurrection, it is become immortal, &c. All this and much more is taught by *Theodoret*, who assisted at the universal Councils of *Ephesus* and *Ebalcedon*. It is an idle exception which is made by some in the Church of *Rome*, as though by the nature and substance of the Elements, which are said to remain, *Theodoret* had understood the nature and substance of the accidents, (as Cardinal *Bellarmino* is pleased to speak most absurdly:) but the whole context doth strongly refute this gloss, for *Theodoret* joyns together nature, substance, form, and figure, and indeed, what Answer could they have given to the *Eutychian* Argument, if the substance of the bread being annihilated after the Consecration, the accidents only remain? Or did Christ say concerning the accidents of the Bread and Wine, these accidents are,

are, or this accident is my body ? But (though we have not that liberty, yet) the Inventors of Transubstantiation may when they please make a Creator of a Creature, substances of accidents, accidents of substances, and any thing out of any thing. But sure they are too immodest and uncharitable, who, to elude the authority of so famous and so worthy a Father as *Theodore*, alledge that he was accused of some errors in the Council of *Ephesus*, though he repented afterwards, as they themselves are forced to confess. Fain would they if they could get out at this door, when they cannot deny that he affirmed, that the Elements remain in their natural substance, as he wrote in the Dialogues which he composed against the *Eutychian* Hereticks, with the applause and approbation of the Catholick Church. And indeed the evidence of this truth hath compelled some of our Adversaries to yield that *Theodore* is of our side. For in the Epistle before the Dialogues of *Theodore* in the *Roman* Edition, set forth by *Stephan Nicolinus*, the Popes Printer, in the year 1547, it is plainly set down. That in what concern'd Transubstantiation his opinion was not very sound, but that he was to be excused, because the Church (of Rome) had made no decree about it.

22. With

Præf. in
Dial. Theod.
ed.

St Gelas.
A. 470, or
490. plus
minus.

De duabus
in Christo
natur. in
Biblioth.
patrum.
Tom. 4.

22. With Theodoret we may joyne Gelasius, who (whether he were Bishop of Rome or no) as Bellarmine confesseth, was of the same age and opinion as he, and therefore a witness ancient and credible enough. He wrote against Eutyches and Nestorius, concerning the two natures in Christ, in this manner. Doubtless, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ which we receive, is a very divine thing, whereby we are made partakers of the divine nature; and yet it doth not cease to be Bread and Wine, by substance and nature. And indeed, the image and resemblance of the Body and Blood of Christ is celebrated in this mysterious action. By this therefore we see manifestly enough, that we must believe that to be in Christ, which we believe to be in his Sacrament, that, as by the perfecting vertue of the Holy Ghost, it becomes a divine substance, and yet remains in the propriety of its nature; so this great Mystery the Incarnation, of whose power and efficacy this is a lively image doth demonstrate that there is one intire and true Christ, consisting of two natures, which yet properly remain unchanged. It doth plainly appear out of these words, that the change wrought in the Sacrament is not substantial, for first, the sanctified Elements are so made the Body and Blood of Christ, that still they continue to be, by nature

nat
Bre
per
La
a di
ceiv
Div
of C
thin
dep
aga
Err
ned
as f
to t
Brea
self
the
dent
shif
men
dian
den
plai
2
said
Sac
we
whi
con

nature, Bread and Wine. Secondly, The Bread and Wine retain their natural properties, as also the two natures in Christ. Lastly, The Elements are said to become a divine substance, because while we receive them, we are made partakers of the Divine Nature, by the Body and Blood of Christ, which are given to us. These things being so, their blindness is to be deplored who see not that they bring again into the Church of Rome the same Error which Antiquity piously and learnedly condemned in the Eutychians. And as for their thread-bare objection

to this, *That by the substance of Bread and wine, the true substance itself is not to be understood, but only the natura and essence of the acci-*

Bill. loco Citat. Baron. A.D. 96. nota Marg. ad verba Gelasii in B. B. Patrum.

denas, it is a very strange and very poor shift. There is a great deal more of commendation due to the ingenuity of Cardinal *Contrarennus*, who yielding to the evidence of truth, answered nothing to this plain Testimony of *Gelasius*.

In Colloq. Ratisb. A. 1541.

23. Now I add *Cyril of Alexandria*, who said, *That the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament are received only by a pure faith, as we read in that Epistle against Nestorism,* which six hundred Fathers approved and confirmed in the Council of *Chalcedon*. I

St Cyril of Alex. The Coun. of Chalcedon. Circa. An. 450. Inter Ep. Cyr. in Con. Eph. Con. Chalcedon. Art. 5.

omit

omit to mention the other Fathers of this Age, though many things in their Writings be as contrary to Transubstantiation and the independency of accidents as any I have hitherto cited.

Ephrem.
Ans. 540.

Phot. in
Bibl.
n. 129.

Ibid.

24. I come now to the Sixth Century, about the middle whereof *Ephrem*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, wrote a Book, which was read and commended by *Photius*, concerning sacred Constitutions and Ceremonies against the *Eutychians*; therein, that he might prove the Hypostatical Union, that in Christ there is no confusion of natures, but that each retains its own substance and properties, he brings the comparison of the Sacramental Union, and denies that there should be any conversion of one substance into another in the Sacrament. *No man* (saith he) *that hath any reason will say that the nature of the palpable, and impalpable; and the nature of the visible and invisible is the same. For so the Body of Christ which is received by the faithful, remains in its own substance, and yet withal is united to a spiritual grace; and so Baptism, though it becomes wholly spiritual, yet it loseth not the sensible property of its substance (that's water) neither doth it cease to be what it was made by grace.*

Facund.
Episc.
A.D. 550.

25. It is not very long since the works of *Facundus*, an African Bishop, were Printed at *Paris*, but he lived in the same Century. Now what his Doctrine was against Transubstantiation, as also of the Church in his time, is plainly to be seen by those words of his, which I here transcribe.

The Sacrament of Adoption may be called Adoption, as the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Christ, consecrated in the Bread and Wine is said to be his Body and Bloud; not that his Body be Bread, or his Bloud Wine, but because the Bread and Wine are the Sacrament of his Body and Bloud, and therefore so called by Christ, when he gave them to his Disciples. Sirmondus the Jesuit hath writ Annotations on Facundus; but when he came to this place he had nothing to say, but that the Bread is no Bread, but only the likeness and appearance of Bread: An opinion so unlike that of Facundus that it should not have been Fathered upon him, by a learned and ingenuous man, as Sirmondus would be thought to be. For he cannot so much as produce any one of the ancient Fathers that ever made mention of accidents subsisting without a subject, (called by him the appearances of Bread.) And as for his thinking, That some would take the expressions of Facundus to

G be

be somewhat uncouth and obscure, how unjust and injurious it is to that learned Father may easily be observed by any.

Isid. Hisp.
A.D. 630.

Lib. 1. de
Off. Eccl.
cap. 18.

26. *Isidore*, Bishop of *Hispal*, about the begining of the Seventh Century, wrote thus concerning the Sacrament, *Because the bread strengthens our body, therefore it is called the Body of Christ, and because the wine is made bloud, therefore the Bloud of Christ is expressed by it. Now these two are visible, but yet being sanctified by the Holy Spirit, they become the Sacraments of the Lords Body. For the Bread which we break is the Body of Christ, who said, I am the Bread of life; and the Wine is his Bloud, as it is written, I am the true Vine. Behold, saith he, they become a Sacrament, not the substance of the Lords Body; for the Bread and Wine which feed our Flesh cannot be substantially, nor be said to be the Body and Bloud of Christ, but Sacramentally, they are so as certainly, as that they are so called. But this he declares yet more clearly, Lib. 6. Etymol. cap. 19. For as the visible substance of Bread and Wine nourish the outward man; so the word of Christ, who is the bread of Life, refresheth the souls of the faithful being received by Faith. These words were recorded and preserved by Eertram the Priest, when as in the Editions of Isidore, they are now left out.*

27. And

27. And the same kind of expressions as those of *Isidorus* were also used by Venerable *Bede* our Country-man, who lived in the Eighth Century, In his Sermon upon the *Epiphany*; of whom we also take these two testimonies following: *In the room of the flesh and bloud of the Lamb Christ substituted the Sacrament of his Body and Bloud, in the figure of Bread and wine.* Also, *At Supper he gave to his Disciples the figure of his holy Body and Bloud.* These utterly destroy Transubstantiation.

Ven Bede
A.D. 720.

Serm. de
Epiph.

Com. in
Luk. 22.

Com. in
Psal. 3.

28. In the same Century, *Charles the Great* wrote an Epistle to our *Alcuinus*, wherein we find these words. *Christ, at Supper broke the bread to his Disciples, and likewise gave them the Cup, in figure of his Body and Bloud, and so left to us this great Sacrament for our benefit.* If it was the figure of his body, it could not be the Body itself: Indeed, the Body of Christ is given in the Eucharist, but to the faithful only, and that by means of the Sacrament of the Consecrated bread.

Car. Mag.
A.D. 778.

Ep. ad Al-
cu. de ra-
tione Sept.

29. But now, about the beginning of the Ninth Century, started up *Paschasius*, a Monk of *Corbie*, who first (as some say, whose Judgment I follow not) among the *Latines*, taught that Christ was Consubstantiated, or rather inclosed in the

Pasch.
A.D. 818.

Lib. de
corp. &
sang Chri-
sti.

Bread & corporally united to it in the Sacrament; for as yet there was no thoughts of the Transubstantiation of Bread. But these new sorts of expressions not agreeing with the Catholick Doctrine, and the Writings of the ancient Fathers, had few or no Abettors before the Eleventh Century. And in the Ninth, whereof we now treat, there were not wanting learned men (as *Amalarinus*, Archdeacon of *Triars*; *Rabanus*, at first Abbot of *Fulda*, and afterwards Archbishop of *Ments*; *John Erigena*, an *English* Divine; *Walafri-
 dus Strabo*, a *German* Abbot; *Ratramus* or *Bertramus*, first Priest of *Corbie*, afterwards Abbot of *Orbec* in *France*; and many more) who by their Writings opposed this new Opinion of *Paschasius*, or of some others rather, and delivered to Posterity the Doctrine of the Ancient Church. Yet we have something more to say concerning *Paschasius*, whom *Bellarmino* and *Sirmondus* esteemed so highly, that they were not ashamed to say, that he was the first that had writ to the purpose concerning the Eucharist, and that he had so explained the meaning of the Church, that he had shewn and opened the way to all them who treated of that subject after him. Yet in that whole Book of
Paschasius,

*Bell. de
 Scrip Ec-
 clef. verbo
 Pasch.
 Sirm. in
 vita Pasc.
 Praef. Edi-
 tione Pa-
 risiens.*

Paschasius, there is nothing that favours the Transubstantiation of the Bread, or its destruction or removal. Indeed, he asserts the truth of the Body and Bloud of Christs being in the Eucharist, which Protestants deny not; he denies that the Consecrated Bread is a bare figure, a representation void of truth, which Protestants assert not. But he hath many things repugnant to Transubstantiation, which (as I have said) the Church of Rome it self had not yet quite found out. I shall mention a few of them. *Christ* (saith he) *left us this Sacrament, a visible figure and character of his Body and Bloud, that by them our Spirit might the better embrace spiritual and invisible things, and be more fully fed by Faith.* Again, *We must receive our spiritual Sacraments with the mouth of the Soul, and the taste of Faith.* Item. *Whilst therein we savour nothing carnal, but we being spiritual, and understanding the whole spiritually, we remain in Christ.* And a little after, *The flesh and bloud of Christ are received spiritually.* And again, *To savour according to the flesh, is death; and yet to receive spiritually the true Flesh of Christ, is life eternal.* Lastly, *The Flesh and bloud of Christ are not received carnally, but spiritually.* In these he teacheth, that the Mystery of the Lords Supper is

not, and ought not to be understood carnally but spiritually, and that this dream of corporal and oral Transubstantiation was unknown to the Ancient Church. As for what hath been added to this Book, by the craft (without doubt) of some superstitious forgerer, (as *Erasmus* complains that it too frequently happens to the Writing of the Ancients,) it is Fabulous, as the visible appearing of the Body of Christ in the form of an Infant with fingers of raw flesh; such stuff is unworthy to be Fathered on *Paschasius*, who professeth that he delivered no other Doctrine concerning the Sacrament, than that which he had learned out of the Ancient Fathers, and not from idle and uncertain stories of Miracles.

30. Now it may be requisite to produce the testimony of those Writers before mentioned to have written in this Century. *In all that I write* (saith *Amalaricus*) *I am swayed by the Judgment of holy men and pious Fathers; yet I say what I think my self. Those things that are done in the Celebration of Divine Service, are done in the Sacrament of the Passion of our Lord as he himself commanded. Therefore the Priest offering the Bread, with the Wine and Water in the Sacrament, doth it in the stead of Christ, and the*
Bread,

Amal. An.
8:0.

Pref. in
libr de
Eccl. offic.

Bread, Wine, and Water in the Sacrament represent the Flesh and Bloud of Christ. For Sacraments are somewhat to resemble those things whereof they are Sacraments. Therefore let the Priest be like unto Christ, as the Bread and Liquors are like the Body and Bloud of Christ. Such is in some manner the immolation of the Priest on the Altar, as was that of Christ on the Cross. Again, The Sacrament of the Body of Christ, is in some manner the Body of Christ: For Sacraments should not be Sacraments, if in some things they had not the likeness of that whereof they are Sacraments: Now by reason of this mutual likeness, they oftentimes are called by what they represent. Lastly, Sacraments have the vertue to bring us to those things whereof they are Sacraments. These things writ Amalarinus according to the Expressions of St. Austin, and the Doctrine of the purest Church.

31. Rabanus Maurus, a great Doctor of this Age, who could hardly be matcht either in Italy, or in Germany, publisht this his open Confession: Our blessed Saviour would have the Sacrament of his Body and Bloud, to be received by the mouth of the Faithful, and to become their nourishment, that by the visible body, the effects of the invisible might be known: For as the material Food feeds the body outwardly, and makes it to grow, so the

Raban.
A.D. 825.
Tribem.
de Script.
Eccl.
Rabanus
Maur. de
Inst. Cler.
l. 1. c. 31.

word of God doth inwardly nourish and strengthen the soul. Also, He would have the Sacramental Elements to be made of the fruits of the earth, that as he, who is God invisible, appeared visible in our Flesh, and mortal to save us mortals, so he might by a thing visible fitly represent to us a thing invisible. Some receive the Sacred Sign at the Lords Table to their Salvation, and some to their Ruine; but the thing signified is life to every man, and death to none, whoever receives it is united as a member to Christ the head in the Kingdom of Heaven; for the Sacrament is one thing, and the efficacy of it another: For the Sacrament is received with the mouth, but the grace thereof feeds the inward man. And as the first is turned into our substance when we eat it and drink it, so are we made the Body of Christ when we live piously and obediently. — Therefore the Faithful do well and truly receive the body of Christ, if they neglect not to be his members, and they are made the Body of Christ if they will live of his Spirit. All these agree not in the least with the new Doctrine of Rome, and as little with that opinion they attribute to Paschasius, and therefore he is rejected as erroneous by some Romish Authors, who writ four and six hundred years after him: But they should have considered that they condemned not only Rabanus, but together with

G. Malm.
A. 100.
and Tho.
Wald.
A. 1400.

with him all the Doctors of the Primitive Church.

32. *Johannes Erigena* our Country-man, Fob. Erig. A. 86c.
 (whom King *Alfred* took to be his, and his Childrens Tutor, and to credit the new founded University of *Oxford*) while he lived in *France*, where he was in great esteem with *Charles the Bald*, wrote
 (a) a Book concerning the Body and Bloud of our Lord, to the same purpose as *Rabanus*, and back'd it with clear Testimonies of Scripture and of the Holy Fathers. But entring himself into the Monastery of *Malmsbury*, as he was interpreting the Book of *Dionysius* about the heavenly Hierarchy, (which he translated into Latine) and withal censuring the newly-hatcht Doctrine of the Carnal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, he was stabb'd (b) with Pen-knives by some unworthy Schollars of his, set on by certain Monks; though not long after, he was by some (c) others numbred among Holy Martyrs.

a That Book was afterwards condemned under *Leo IX.* two hundred years after by the maintainers of Transubstantiation.

b Anton. tit. c. 2.
 § 3.
 Vincent. l. 24 c. 4.
 & alii.
 c Malmsf. de gestis Reg. angl. l. 2.

33. *Walafridus Strabo*, about the same time wrote on this manner. Therefore in that Last Supper whereat Christ was with his Disciples before he was betrayed; after the solemnities of the ancient Passcover, he gave to his

Wal. Stra. c. 6.
 De rebus Eccl. c. 16.

his Disciples the Sacrament of his Body and Bloud in the substance of Bread and Wine, — and instructed us to pass from carnal to spiritual things, from earthly to heavenly things, and from shadows to the substance.

Bertram
Priest and
Abbot,
A. 860.

34. As for the opinion of *Bertram*, otherwise called *Ratramnus*, or *Ratramus*, perhaps not rightly, it is known enough by that Book which the Emperour *Charles the Bald* (who loved and honoured him, as all good men did, for his great learning and piety) commanded him to write concerning the Body and Bloud of our Lord. For when men began to be disturbed at the Book of *Paschasius*, some saying one thing, and some another, the Emperour being moved by their disputes propounded himself two questions to *Bertram*. 1. Whether, what the Faithful eat in the Church, be made the Body and Bloud of Christ in Figure and in Mystery? 2. Or whether that natural body which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, which suffered, died, and was buried, and now sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, be it self dayly received by the mouth of the Faithful in the Mystery of the Sacrament? The first of these *Bertram* resolved Affirmatively, the second Negatively, and said, that there was as great a difference

gence betwixt those two bodies, as betwixt the earnest and that whereof it is the earnest. *It is evident (saith he) that that Bread and Wine are figuratively the Body and Bloud of Christ.* — According to the substance of the Elements, they are after the Consecration what they were before. — For the Bread is not Christ substantially. — If this mystery be not done in a figure, it cannot well be called a Mystery. — The Wine also which is made the Sacrament of the Bloud of Christ by the Consecration of the Priest, shews one thing by its outward appearance and contains another inwardly. For what is there visible in its outside but only the substance of the Wine? These things are changed, but not according to the material part, and by this change they are not what they truly appear to be, but are some thing else besides what is their proper being: For they are made spiritually the Body and Bloud of Christ; not that the Elements be two different things, but in one respect they are, as they appear, Bread and Wine, and in another the Body and Bloud of Christ. — Hence, according to the visible Creature they feed the body, but according to the vertue of a more excellent substance they nourish and sanctifie the souls of the Faithful. Then having brought many Testimonies of holy Scripture and the ancient Fathers to confirm this, he at last prevents that Calumny

Lib. de
corp. &
Sang Dom
part. 1.
Ibid.
Part. 2.

lummy which the followers of *Paschasius* did then lay on the Orthodox, as though they had taught that bare signs, figures, and shadows, and not the Body and Bloud of Christ were given in the Sacrament, *Let it not be thought* (saith he) *because we say this, that therefore the Body and Bloud of Christ are not received in the Mystery of the Sacrament, where Faith apprehends what it believes, and not what the eyes see; for this meat and drink are spiritual, feed the soul spiritually, and entertain that life whose fulness is eternal.* For the question is not simply about the real truth, or the thing signified being present, without which it could not be a Mystery, but about the false reality of things subsisting in imaginary appearances, and about the Carnal Presence.

*Index lib.
prob. in fine
ne Concil
Trid. Au-
thor. Papæ
editus in
Lit. B.*

35. All this the Fathers of *Trent*, and the *Romish* Inquisitors could not brook, and therefore they utterly condemned *Bertram*, and put his Book in the Catalogue of those that are forbidden. But the Professors of *Doway* judging this proceeding much too violent, and therefore more like to hurt than to advance the *Roman* Cause, went another and more cunning way to work, and had the approbation of the Licencers of Books, and the

the Authors of the Belgick Index expurgatorius. That Book of Bertram (say they) having been already Printed several times, read by many, and known to all by its being forbidden, may be suffered and used after it is corrected; for Bertram was a Catholick Priest and a Monk in the Monastery of Corbie, esteemed and beloved by Charles the Bald. And being we bear with many errors in Ancient Catholick Authors, and lessen, and excuse them, and by some cunning device (behold the good mens fidelity!) often deny them, and give a more commodious sense, when they are objected to us in our disputes with our Adversaries; we do not see why Bertram should not also be amended and used with the same Equity, lest Hereticks cast us in the teeth, that we burn and suppress those Records of Antiquity that make for them: And, as we also fear, lest, not only Hereticks, but also stubborn Catholicks read the Book with the more greediness, and cite it with the more confidence because it is forbidden, and so it doth more harm by being prohibited than if it was left free. What patch then will they sow to amend this in Bertram? Those things that differ are not the same; that Body of Christ which died and rose again, and is become immortal, dies no more, being eternal and impassable: But that which is celebrated in the Church, is temporal, not eternal; is corruptible,

Index expur. Belg.
jussu & author.
Phil. 2.
His. Reg.
atque Albani ducis
concilio concinn.
p. 54.
v. Bertr.

ruptible, and not incorruptible. To this last mentioned passage, they give a very com-
modious sense, namely, *that it should be understood of the corruptible species of the Sacrament, or of the Sacrament it self, and the use of it, which will last no longer than this world.* If this will not do, it may not be amiss to leave it all out; to blot out *visibly*, and write *invisibly*. And this, *what the Creatures were in substance before the Consecration, they are still the same after it, must be understood, according to the outward appearance, that is, the accidents of the Bread and Wine.* Though they confess that then Bertram knew nothing of those accidents subsisting without substance, and many other things which the latter age hath added out of the Scriptures with as great truth as subtilty. How much easier had it been at one stroke to blot out the whole Book? And so make short work with it, as the Spanish Inquisitors did in their *Index expurgat*. Let the whole Epistle (say they) of Udalricus, Bishop of Ausburg be blotted out, concerning the single life of the Clergy; and let the whole Book of Bertram the Priest, about the Body and Blood of the Lord, be suppressd. What is this, but, as Arnobius said against the Heathen, to intercept publick Records, and fear the Testimony of the Truth? For, as for that which

Index expur. Hist. p. D. Gasp. Quiroga, Card. & Inquis. gener. in fine.

Arnob. l. 3.

Sixtu

Sixtus Senensis, and *Possevin* affirm, That that Book of the Body and Bloud of the Lord was writ by *Oecolampadius* under the name of *Bertram*, it is so great an untruth, that a greater cannot be found.

Sixt. Sen. præf. in Bibl. Sanc. Possev. Proel. in Appa. Sac.

36. We are now come to the tenth Century, wherein, besides those many Sentences of Catholick Fathers against Innovaters in what concerns the Body and Bloud of Christ, collected by *Herigerus Abbas Lobiensis*, we have also an ancient *Easter Homily in Saxon-English*, which then used to be read publickly in our Churches: out of which we may gather what was then the Doctrine received amongst us, touching this Point of Religion; but chiefly out of that part wherein are shewn many differences betwixt the natural Body of Christ and the Consecrated Host. For thus it teacheth the people, *There is a great difference betwixt that body wherein Christ suffered and that wherein the Host is consecrated. That Body, wherein Christ suffered was born of the Virgin Mary, consisting of bloud and bones, skin and nerves, humane members, and a rational soul: But his spiritual body which we call the Host, is made of many united grains of corn, and hath neither bloud nor bones, neither members nor soul. Afterwards, The Body of Christ, which once died*

Herig. Ab. A. D. 930.

Hom. Pasc. Angl. Sax. A. D. 990. impressa Lond & Ms. in publ. Cant. Acad. Bib.

died and rose again, shall die no more, but remains eternal and impassible; but this Host is temporal and corruptible, divided into parts broken with the teeth, and swallowed down into the stomach. Lastly, this Mystery is a pledge and a figure: The body of Christ is that very truth. What is seen is bread, but what is spiritually understood is life. There is also another Sermon of Bishop wulfinus to the Clergy, bearing the title of a Synod of Priests, wherein the same opinion and Doctrine is explained in this manner: *That Host is the Body of Christ, not corporally, but spiritually; not that Body wherein he suffered, but that Body whereof he spake, when he consecrated the Bread and Wine into an Host.* Which to this day, in the Church of England we hold to be a Catholick truth.

Homil. Sa-
cerd Sy-
nod. impr.
Lond. cum
Homil.
Paschali.

37. And so hitherto we have produced the agreeing Testimonies of Ancient Fathers for a thousand years after Christ, and have transcribed them more at large, to make it appear to every one that is not blind, that the true Apostolick Doctrine of this Mystery, hath been universally maintained for so long by all men; some few excepted, who more than eight hundred years after Christ presumed to dispute against the ancient Orthodox Doctrine, of the manner of Christs Presence, and of

his

his being received in the Sacrament, though they durst not positively determine any thing against it. Now, what more concerns this Point we refer to the next Chapter, lest this should be too long.

CHAP. VI.

Shews more at large that the Doctrine and Practice of the Primitive Church is inconsistent with Transubstantiation; and Answers the Romish Objections vainly alleadged out of Antiquity.

I. **M**Any more Proofs out of Ancient Records might have been added to those we have hitherto brought, for a thousand years, but we, desiring to be brief, have omitted them in each Century; As in the First, After the holy Scriptures, the Works of ^a *Clemens Romanus*, commended by the Papists themselves, and those of ^b *St. Ignatius*, Bishop of *Antioch* and Martyr, are much against Transubstantiation. In the Second likewise, ^c *St. Theophilus*, fourth Bishop of *Antioch*

Authors left out in the foregoing Chapter.

^a *Constit.*

Ap l. 6.

c. 23. &

29.

^b *Epist ad*

Philadel.

^c *Ad Au-*

tol. l. 2.

H

after

d Athenag. legat. pro Christ. e In Diatres. f De Stro l. 1. & de padag. l. 1. g In Octavio h De Dem. Evan. l. 1. c. 10. & l. 8. c. 2. i Juv. de Hist. Evang. l. 4. k Mac. Hom. 37. l In Mat. & de Syn. m Contra Parm. l. 3. n Hom. de Corp. Chr. o Orat. sun. Gorg. p In Joh. l. 4. c. 1. q In Anacorato. r Contra Jovin. & in Jer. 31. & in Mar. 26. s Epist. Pasch. 2. t Gaud. in Exod. 2. u In Epist. St Paul. x De Dogm. Eccl. c. 25. y Homil. 2. in Epiph. z De fide cap. 16. & Epist. ad Fer. vand. a Com. in Mark. 1. b In Epist. ad Cor. c In Gen. 9. d In Levit. 1. 6. e In Hierarch Dion. f De fide Orithod. g De Cherub c. 6. h In vita S. Remig. i Epist. ad Adeodat.

after Ignatius; ^a Athenagoras, and ^e Tatianus, Scholars to Justin Martyr. In the Third, ^f Clemens Alexandrinus, Tutor to Origen, and ^g Minutius Felix, a Christian Orator. In the Fourth, ^h Eusebius, Bishop of Cesarea, ⁱ Juvenius, a Spanish Priest, ^k Macarius Egyptius, ^l St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, ^m Optatus, Bishop of Milevis, ⁿ Eusebius Emisenus, ^o Gregorius Nazianzenus, ^p Cyrillus Alexandrinus, ^q Epiphanius Salaminensis, ^r St. Hierom, ^s Theophilus Alexandrinus, and ^t Gaudentius, Bishop of Brixia. In the Fifth, ^u Sedulius, a Scotch Priest, ^v Genadius Massiliensis, and ^w Faustus, Bishop of Regium. In the Sixth, ^x Fulgentius Africanus, ^y Victor Antiochenus, ^z Primasius Bishop, and ^a Procopius Gazeus. In the Seventh, ^b Hesychius, Priest in Jerusalem, and ^c Maximus, Abbot of Constantinople. In the Eighth, ^d Johannes Damascenus. In the Ninth, ^e Nicephorus the Patriarch, and ^f Hincmarus Archbishop of Rhemes. Lastly in the Tenth, ^g Fulbert Bishop of Chartres. And to compleat all; to these single Fathers, we may add whole Councils of them, as

that

that of ^{*} *Ancyra*, of ¹ *Neocesarea*,
and besides the first of ^m *Nice*
which I have mentioned, that of
^{*} *Laodicea*, of ^{*} *Carthage*, of ^p *Orle-*
ans, the fourth of ^q *Toledo*, that of
^r *Bracara*, the sixteenth of ^r *To-*
ledo, and that of ^r *Constantinople* in
Trullo. Out of all these appears
most certain, that the infection of the
Doctrin of Transubstantiation was not
yet spread over the Christian world; but
that the sound Doctrin of the Body and
Bloud of Christ, and of their true (yet
spiritual not carnal) Presence in the Eu-
charist, with the Elements, still the same
in substance after Consecration, was eve-
ry where owned and maintained. And
though the Fathers used both ways of
speaking (that is, that the Bread and
Wine are the true Body and Bloud of
Christ, and that their substance still re-
maining, they are Signs, Types, Resem-
blances, and Pledges of them; Images,
Figures, Similitudes, Representations,
and Samplers of them,) yet there was no
contrariety or diversity in the sense. For
they were not so Faithless as to believe
that these are only naturall Elements, or
bare Signs; and they were not of so gross
and so dull an apprehension, as not to

k An. 314. Can. 2.
l A. eodem. Can. 13.
m In A. 1. 2. Can. 30.
n A. 364. Can. 25.
o A. 397. Can. 24.
p A. 541. Can. 4.
q A. 633. Can. 17.
r A. 675. Can. 2.
r A. 693. Can. 6.
t A. 691. Can. 32.

distinguish betwixt the Sacramental and Myſtick, and the carnal and natural preſence of Chriſt, as it is now maintained by the Patrons of Tranſubſtantiation. For in this they underſtood no other change than that which is common to all Sacraments, whereby the outward natural part is ſaid to be changed into the inward and divine, only becauſe it repreſents it truly and efficaciously, and makes all worthy Receivers partakers thereof; and becauſe by the vertue of the Holy Spirit, and of Chriſt's holy institution, the Elements obtain thoſe divine Excellencies and Privileges, which they cannot have of their own nature. And this is it which was taught and believed, for above a thouſand years together, by pious and learned Antiquity, concerning this moſt holy Myſtery.

2. There are alſo ſome other things whereby we may underſtand that the Ancients did not believe *Tranſubſtantiation*, or that the preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt is ſo inſeparably tyed to the accidents of Bread and Wine, that Chriſt muſt needs be preſent as long as thoſe accidents retain any reſemblance of Bread and Wine. even when they are not put to that uſe appointed by divine institution.

For

For it is certain, that it was the custom of many of the Ancients to burn *what remained of the Bread and Wine after the Comunion was ended.* And who can believe that any Christian should dare or be willing to burn his Lord and Saviour, in Body and Bloud, though it were never so much in his power?

Hesych. l. 2. in Levit. cap. 8. A.D. 600.

Concil. Argl. Spelm. *medicimus inter eos qui Bide titulum præferunt, A.D. 700. & sub Edgare Rege 33. Ibid A.D. 970.*

Doubtless it would have been as horrid and detestable an action as was that of the perfidious Jews, for Christians, if they believed *Transubstantiation*, to burn that very natural body which the Jews Crucified, and which was born of the Virgin Mary. Therefore those Christians who used anciently to burn those fragments of the Bread, and remains of the Wine, which were not spent in the celebration of the Sacrament, were far enough from holding the present Faith and Doctrine of Rome. The same appears further by the penalty threatned by the Canon to every Clergy-man, *by whose neglect a Mouse or any other Creature should eat the Sacrifice,* (that is, the Consecrated Bread.) And who but an Idiot, a man deprived of his reason, could ever believe that the natural Body of Christ can be gnawed and even eaten by Rats, or any brute Creatures?

Conc. Argl. l. 2. Citat. à Gratiano de Consecr. dist. 2. A. D. 640.

This sorely perplext the first maintainers of *Transubstantiation*, who would invent any thing, rather than own it possible; well knowing how abominable it is, and how dishonourable to Christian Religion. Yet this is not inconsistent with the now Roman Faith; nay, it necessarily follows from the Tenet of *Transubstantiation* that the Body of Christ may be in the belly of a Mouse^a under the accidents of Bread. And the contrary opinion is not only disowned now by the Papists, but under pain of Excommunication forbidden by the^b Pope ever to be owned; so that they must believe as an Article of Faith^c, what is most abhorrent to Faith.

^a Alex. Alex. lib. 4.
q. 45. m. 1. art. 2. &
q. 53. m. 3.
Thom. in 3. q. 80. art. 3.
& in 4. d. 9. q. 2.

^b Greg. XI. in director.
Inquis. p. 1. n. 15. &
p. 2. q. 10.

^c Vass. disp. 195. in 3.
c 5.

3. But yet at last, let us see what props these new builders pretend to borrow from Antiquity to uphold their Castle in the air, *Transubstantiation*. They use indeed to scrape together many Testimonies of the Fathers of the first and middle age, whereby they would fain prove, that those Fathers believed and taught the *Transubstantiation* of the Bread and Wine into the natural Body and Bloud of Christ, just as the Roman Church, at this day, doth teach and believe. We will therefore briefly

briefly examine them, that it may yet more fully appear that Antiquity and all Fathers did not in the least favour the new Tenet of Transubstantiation; but that, that true Doctrin which I have set down in the begining of this book, was constantly owned and preserved in the Church of Christ.

4. Now, almost all that they produce out of the Fathers will be conveniently reduced to certain heads, that we may not be too tedious in answering each testimony by it self.

5. To the first head belong those^a that call the Eucharist the Body and Bloud of Christ. But I answer, those Fathers explain themselves in many places, and interpret those their expressions in such a manner, that they must be understood in a Mystick and spiritual sense, in that Sacraments usually take the names of those things they represent, because of that resemblance which they have with them; *not by the reality of the thing, but by the signification of the Mystery*, as we have shewn before out of St. Austin and others. For no body can deny, but that the things that are seen are signs and figures, and those that are not seen, the Body and Bloud of Christ: And that therefore the nature of this mystery is such, that when we receive

^a Answer to the Allegation out of Iren. Orig. Cyril Hier. Gre. Naz. St. Hier. St. Austin and others.

^e De Consecr dist 2. c sicut.

the Bread and Wine, we also together with them receive at the same time the body and Bloud of Christ, which in the celebration of the holy Eucharist, are as truly given as they are represented. Hence came into the Church this manner of speaking, the Consecrated Bread is Christs Body.

An Answer to the proofs out of St. Hier. Ep. ad Heliod. 2. & ad Evag. 85. & St. Ambr. de in qui init. c. 9. &c.

Ep. 85. ad Evag.

St. Chrys. Hom. 83. in St. Mat.

6. We put in the second rank those places that say, that the Bishops and Priests make the body of Christ with the sacred words of their mouth, as St. Hierom speaks in his Epistle to *Heliodorus*, and St. *Ambrose* and others. To this I say, that at the prayer and blessing of the Priest, the common Bread is made Sacramental bread, which, when broken and eaten is the *Communion* of the body of Christ, and therefore may well be called so, Sacramentally. For the bread (as I have often said before) doth not only represent the body of our Lord, but also being received, we are truly made partakers of that precious body. For so saith S. Hier. *The body and bloud of Christ is made at the Prayer of the Priest*, that is, the Element is so qualified that being received it becomes the Communion of the Body and Bloud of Christ, which it could not without the preceding Prayers. The *Greeks* call this, *To prepare and to consecrate the Body of the Lord*. As S. *Chrysostom* saith well,

These

These are not the works of mans power, but still the operation of him, who made them in the last Supper; as for us, we are only Ministers, but he it is that sanctifies and changeth them.

7. In the third place, to what is brought out of the Fathers, concerning the conversion, change, transmutation, transfiguration, and transelementation of the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, (wherein the Papists do greatly glory, boasting of the consent of Antiquity with them;) I answer that there is no such consequence, Transubstantiation being another species of change, the enumeration was not full, for it doth not follow, that because there is a conversion, a transmutation, a transelementation, there should be also a Transubstantiation; which the Fathers never so much as mentioned. For because this is a Sacrament, the change must be understood to be Sacramental also, whereby common Bread and Wine become the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Christ, which could not be did not the substance of the Bread and Wine remain, for a Sacrament consisteth of two parts, an earthly and a heavenly. And so because ordinary Bread is changed by consecration into a Bread which is no more of common use, but appointed

An Answer to what is cited out of St. Cyp. Ambrose, both the Cyrills. Chrys. Gre. Nyss. & aliorum.

appointed by divine institution to be a Sacramental sign whereby is represented the Body of Christ, in whom dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily; and being thereby dignified, having great excellencies superadded, and so made what it was not before, it is therefore said by some of the Fathers to be changed, to be made another thing. And truly that change is great and supernatural, but yet not substantial, not of a substance which substantially ceaseth to be, into another substance which substantially beginneth to be, but it is a change of state and condition which alters not the natural properties of the Element. This is also confirmed by Scripture, which usually describes and represents the conversion of men, and the supernatural change of things, as though it were natural, though it be not so. So those that are renewed by the Word, and Spirit, and Faith of Christ, are said to be *regenerated*, converted, and transformed, to put off the old man, and put on the new man, and to be new Creatures; but they are not said to become another substance, to be transubstantiated: For men thus converted have still the same humane body, and the same rational soul as before, though in a far better

4 Joh. 3.

3.

1 Pet. 1. 3.

1 Cor. 4.

15.

Rom. 12.

3.

Eph. 4. 22

Gal. 6. 15.

be
sti
th
on
on
spe
los
fo
tim
sto
fig
qua
and
by
men
ru
gor
som
to
the
dis
im
re
aff
Per
f Gre
Res
Pas
1 Cor
alii.

better state and condition, as every Christian will acknowledge. Nay, the Fathers themselves use those words, Transmutation, Transformation, Transelementations, upon other occasions, when they speak of things whose substance is neither lost nor changed. For those words be of so large a signification, that though sometimes a substantial change is to be understood by them, yet for the most part they signifie only a moral change, a change of qualities, of condition, of office, of use, and the like. To this sense they are used by the Greek Fathers, (^a Irenæus, ^b Clemens Alexandrinus, ^c Origene, ^d Cyril of Jerusalem, ^e Basil, ^f Gregory Nazianzen, ^g Gregory Nyssene, ^h Cyril of Alexandria, ⁱ Chrysostom, ^k Theodoret, Theophylact, and Occumenius,) to express the ^a Resurrection of the Body, the efficacy ^b of divine Doctrine, the Sanctification of a ^c regenerated person, the immortality ^d of the flesh after the Resurrection, the ^e repentance of sinners, the ^f assumption of the humane nature in the Person of Christ, the ^g regeneration of

^a Iren. l. 5. c. 10.
^b Clem. Alex. l. 4. Strom.
^c Orig. Serm. 2. in diversos.
^d Cyril. Hier. Catéch. 18.
^e Basil. exhort. ad Bapt. & S. Chrys. hom. 5. de Pœnit.

^f Greg. Naz. Orat. 40. ^g Greg. Nyss. lib. 2. contra Eunom. Hom. 1. de Resur. Ep. ad Eustath. Latin. & Ambros. ^h Cyril. Alexand. Epist. Pasch. 6, 7. & 14. ⁱ S. Chrysost. Hom. 23. in Act. Apost. Idem Hom. 33. in 1 Cor. ^k Theod. Dial. 2. Theoph. in Job 6. & Occumenius 1. Pet. 1. & alii.

Saints,

Saints, the ^h vertue of the divine grace, the power of Baptism ⁱ, and the excellency of Charity, and lastly the ^k alteration for the better, the greatness, usefulness, power and dignity of many things.

1 St. Austin. l. 4. contra Crescon. cap. 54.
St. Ambr. de Myst. c. 9. & de Sacr. l. 4. c. 4.

Faust. Reg. sine Euf. Emiss. de Pasch 55.
Facund. l. 9. c. ult.

Neither are the Latine ^l Fathers without such kind of expressions, for they do not make the conversion of the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist more essential or substantial, than in Baptism the

conversion of man born again to a new life, or (as they speak) whose humane natural condition is changed into a nobler, a heavenly state, which is a moral and mystick change, and not natural or substantial. The Ancientest of them, ^m Tertullian said, *That God had promised to man the body and substance of Angels, and that men should be transformed into Angels, as Angels have been transformed into men.* Now, who would infer from hence, that Angels have been essentially changed into men; or that humane bodies should be so transformed into an Angelical substance, that they should be no longer men nor humane bodies, but properly and essentially Angels? Which Tertullian himself is expressly against, and saith, *That Angels were so changed into men that still they remained Angels,*

m Contra Marc. l. 3. c. 9. 24. & 26.

De Carne Christi. cap 3.

Angels, without quitting their proper substance. As others have spoken of the Bread in the Eucharist, *That it so becomes the body of Christ, that still it is what it was,* as St. Ambrose; *That it looseth not its nature,* as Theodoret; that the substance of the Bread remains, as *Gelasius* affirms. And doubtless the same meant all the Ancients, who according to their way of speaking said any thing of the change of Bread and Wine. For all the Vouchers brought by the Papists speak only of an accidental, mystical, and moral; nothing at all of a substantial change. Transubstantiation is taken by its defenders for a material change of one substance into another; we indeed allow a Transmutation of the Elements; but as for a substantial one we vainly seek for it, it is no where to be found.

Superius citati.

8. To the fourth head I refer what the Fathers say of our touching and seeing the Body of Christ, and drinking his Bloud in the Sacrament, and thereto I answer, That we deny not but that some things Emphatical and even Hyperbolical have been said of the Sacrament by *Chrysostome*, and some others; and that those things may easily lead unwary men into error. That was the ancient Fathers care, as it is ours still, to instruct the people not

Answer to the Testimonies of S Chry. Cyril.

Alex. and others.

to look barely on the outward Elements, but in them to eye with their minds the Body and Blood of Christ, and with their hearts lift up to feed on that heavenly meat: For all the benefit of a Sacrament is lost, if we look no farther than the Elements. Hence it is that those holy men, the better to teach this Lesson to their hearers, and move their hearts more efficaciously, spake of the Signs as if they had been the thing signified, and like Orators said many things which will not bear a literal sense, nor a strict examen. Such is this, of an uncertain Author under the name of St. Cyprian, *We are close to the Cross, we suck the blood, and we put our tongues in the very wounds of our Redeemer, so that, both outwardly and inwardly we are made red thereby.* Such is that of

Serm. de
Cæn. Dom.

a Hom. in
Encæn.
b Hom. 82.
in Mat.
c Lib. de
Sacerd. 3.

d Hom. 51
& 83. in
Mat.
e Hom. 24.
1 Cor.
f Hom. 4.
in Joh. &
83. in Mat.

St. Chrysostome, In the Sacrament the Blood is drawn out of the side of Christ, the Tongue is made bloody with that wonderful blood. Again, Thou seest thy Lord sacrificed, and the crowding multitude round about sprinkled with his blood; he that sits above with the Father is at the same time in our hands. Thou dost see and touch and eat him. For I do not shew thee either Angels or Archangels, but the Lord of them himself. Again, He incorporates us with himself as if we were but the same thing, he makes

ma.
ly t
pus
wh
tha
only
Chr
tha
ma
wra
mig
are
Chr
Bre
his
scor
thel
wit
fitti
of I
thin
acco
wit
the
flan
con
of e
sons
plifi
all

ts, makes us his body indeed, and suffers us not on-
the ly to see, but even to touch, to eat him, and to
their put our teeth in his flesh; so that by that food
only which he gives us, we become his flesh. Such is
ent that of St. Austin, Let us give thanks, not *Tract. 21.*
the only that we are made Christians, but also made *in Job.*
oly Christ. Lastly, such is that of B. Leo, In *Epist. 23.*
to that mystical distribution, it is given us to be
arts made his flesh. Certainly, if any man would
s as wrangle and take advantage of these, he
and might thereby maintain, as well that we
will are Transubstantiated into Christ, and
ex. Christs flesh into the Bread, as that the
Au- Bread and Wine are Transubstantiated into
are his Body and Bloud. But Protestants who
l me scorn to play the Sophisters, interpret
Re. these and the like passages of the Fathers,
rdly with candour and ingenuity, (as it is most
t of fitting they should.) For the expressions
loud of Preachers, which often have some-
ue is thing of a Paradox, must not be taken
ain, according to that harsher sound where-
oud- with they at first strike the Auditors ears;
his the Fathers spake not of any Transub-
is at stantiated bread, but of the mystical and
and consecrated, when they used those sorts
e ei of expressions; and that for these Rea-
d of sons: 1. That they might extoll and am-
with plifie the dignity of this Mystery, which
be all true Christians acknowledge to be
ake! very

very great and peerless. 2. That Communicants might not rest in the outward Elements, but seriously consider the thing represented, whereof they are most certainly made partakers, if they be worthy Receivers. 3. And lastly, That they might approach so great a Mystery with the more zeal, reverence, and devotion. And that those Hyperbolick expressions are thus to be understood, the Fathers themselves teach clearly enough, when they come to interpret them.

9. Lastly, Being the same holy Fathers who (as the manner is to discourse of Sacraments) speak sometimes of the Bread and Wine in the Lords Supper, as if they were the very Body and Bloud of Christ, do also very often call them Types, Elements, Signs, the Figure of the Body and Bloud of Christ; from hence it appears most manifestly that they were of the Protestants, and not of the Papists opinion. For we can without prejudice to what we believe of the Sacrament, use those former expressions which the Papists believe, do most favour them, if they be understood, as they ought to be, Sacramentally. But the latter none can use, but he must thereby overthrow the groundless Doctrine of Transubstantiation; these

two; the Bread is Transubstantiated into the Body, and the Bread also is the Type, the Sign, the Figure of the body of Christ being wholly inconsistent. For it is impossible that a thing that loseth its being should yet be the sign and representation of another; neither can any thing be the Type and the Sign of it self.

10. But if without admitting of a Sacramental sense the words be used too rigorously, nothing but this will follow, that the Bread and Wine are really and properly the very Body and Blood of Christ, which they themselves disown, that hold Transubstantiation. Therefore in this change, it is not a newness of substance, but of use and vertue that is produced; which yet the Fathers acknowledged with us, to be wonderful, supernatural, and proper only to Gods Omnipotency: For that earthly and corruptible meat cannot become to us a spiritual and heavenly, the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, without Gods especial power and operation. And whereas it is far above Philosophy and Humane Reason, that Christ from Heaven (where alone he is locally) should reach down to us the divine vertue of his Flesh, so that we are made one body with
him;

him; therefore it is as necessary as it is reasonable, that the Fathers should tell us, that we ought with singleness of heart to believe the Son of God, when he saith, *This is my body*; and that we ought not to measure this high and holy Mystery by our narrow conceptions, or by the course of nature. For it is more acceptable to God with an humble simplicity of faith to reverence and embrace the words of Christ, than to wrest them violently to a strange and improper sense, and with curiosity and presumption to determine what exceeds the capacity of Men and Angels. Thus much in general may suffice to answer those places of the Fathers, which are usually brought in the behalf of Transubstantiation. He that would have a larger refutation of those objections fetcht from Antiquity, may read *Hospi-
annus* his History of the Sacrament, and *Antonius de Dominis* in his Fifth Book of the Christian Commonwealth, Chap. 6. and in his detection of the errors of *Suarez*, Chap. 2.

Lib. 2. &
4.
A sect. 1.
usque ad
13.

Answer
to single
testimony
of Fa-
thers.
Dial. 3. ex
Ep. 5. Ig-
nat.

II. That place of *Ignatius* cited by *Theodorez*, out of the Epistle to the *Smyr-
nenses* (where now it is not to be found) and objected by some of the Romish Faith, *That the Hereticks Simoniani and Menan-
driani*

driani would have no Eucharistical Oblations, because they denied the Sacrament to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, makes nothing for Transubstantiation, as Bellarmine himself confesseth. For (saith he) those Hereticks did not oppose the Sacrament of the Eucharist, so much as the mystery of the Incarnation; and therefore (as Ignatius shews in that place) they would deny that the Eucharist is the flesh of Christ, that is, (as Theodoret interprets it) that the divine Mysteries of Bread and Wine should be the signs of a real Body of Christ truly existing, because they would not own that Christ had taken flesh. And so lest they should be forced to acknowledge the reality of the flesh of Christ, they would wholly reject the Signs and Sacraments of it; for the signs of the body being given, the true body is given also, because the substance and the type infer one another, and a Phantasm or Illusion is not capable of a sign or representation.

De Euch.
l. 1. c. 1.
8. 3.

Dial. 2.

12. The words out of Justin Martyr, whereby they would prove Transubstantiation, do strongly disprove it. For (saith he) as by the word of God, our Saviour was incarnate, so by the Prayers of Gods word, the Eucharist is made, whereby our bodies are nourished, the Body and Blood of Christ. Now when Christ took humane flesh, none

Apol. 2. ad
Ant imp.

could say without Heresie that he was Transubstantiated.

Serm. de
Cæn. Dom.

13. Neither is that against the Protestants which is brought out of St. Cyprian, (though it be none of his) *of the bread changed not in appearance, but in nature.* For he, whoever it was, took not the word *nature* in a strict sense, or else he was contrary to Theodoret, Gelasius, and others above-mentioned, who expressly deny that the bread should be thus changed: But at large, as nature is taken for use, qualities, and condition. For by the infinite power of the Word the nature of the bread is so changed, that what was before a bare Element, becomes now a divine Sacrament, but without any Transubstantiation; as appears by what follows in the same period, *of the Humane and Divine Natures of Christ*, where the Manhood is not substantially changed into the Godhead, except we will follow Eutyches the Heretick.

Bell l. 2.
de Euch.
c. 13.
Cyril. Hieros.
Catech. mystig 4

14. The words of Cyril, as the Roman Doctors say, are so clear for them, that they admit of no evasion: For (saith he) *he that changed once the water into wine, is he not worthy to be believed that he changed the wine into Bloud? Therefore let us with all certainty receive the Body and Bloud of Christ, for his*

his Body under the appearance of the Bread, and his Blood under the appearance of the Wine are given to thee. Indeed Protestants do freely grant, and firmly believe, that the Wine (as hath often been said) is changed into the Blood of Christ, but every change is not a Transubstantiation ; neither doth *Cyril* say that this change is like that of the water, for then it would also appear to our senses ; but that he who changed the Water sensibly, can also change the Wine Sacramentally, will not be doubted by any. As for what he calls the Appearances of Bread and Wine, he doth not thereby exclude, but rather include their substance, and mean the Bread and Wine it self : For so he intimates by what there follows ; *Do not look on them as bare Bread and Wine* ; as much as to say, it is bread indeed, but yet not bare bread, but something besides. But that this conversion of the Water into Wine makes nothing for Transubstantiation, may be thus made to appear. That Gods Omnipotency can change one substance into another, none will deny, and we see it done by Christ in the Town of *Cana of Galilee*, when he changed the Water into Wine ; and it was a true and proper Transubstantiation. But the Papists in the

*Sensu jam
sepius
dicto.*

Lords Supper tell us of quite another change, which, if well considered, cannot so much as be understood. For the substance of the Bread is not changed into another that had no being, but, as they say, the bread is changed into that body of Christ which really existed and had a being these many hundred years, ever since the Incarnation: Whereas that very Wine which Christ made of the Water, was not in being before the change which he wrought. Now it is easie for any to understand, that he who created all things out of nothing, can well make a new Wine of Water, or any other thing; but it is more than absurd, that the body of Christ, or any other substance already in being, perfect and complete, should be made afresh of another substance, when it really subsisted before. Which they well understood who devised an adduction, or bringing of the Body of Christ into the place of the Bread, and that is as much as to deny Transubstantiation; except it can be said that a man is Transubstantiated into another, as often as he comes into his place, which no man in his right wits can fancy.

Lib. 4. de

Sac. c. 4.

& de init.

117. c. 9.

15. St. Ambrose said also that the nature is changed, and indeed it is so; for other is the

the nature of the Element; and other
that of the Sacrament; neither do Pro-
testants deny *that the Element is changed by
the blessing*, so that the bread being made
sacred, is no more *that which nature formed,*
*but that which the Blessing consecrated, and by
consecrating changed.* Mean while St. Am-
brose in that place doth not make the words
or Blessing of Christ to have any other
operation, than to make that which was,
still to be, and yet to be changed; there-
fore the bread is not made the body of
Christ by Transubstantiation, but by a
Sacramental change. He adds, *That Sacra-
ment which thou receivest is made by the word
of Christ; and if the word of Elias had so much
power as to bring down fire from heaven, shall
not the words of Christ be efficacious enough to
change the properties of the Elements? Thou
hast read of the Creation of all things, that he
said the word and it was done; and shall not that
word of Christ, which made all out of nothing,
change that which is already into that which it
was not? Thou thyself wert, but wert the old
man, but being baptized, thou art now be-
come a new Creature? Now it is as much to give
a new nature, as to change the nature of a
thing.* By these words he plainly declares
his opinion that, by vertue of this
change, the Elements of Bread and Wine

*Bell loco
citato.*

*Lib. 2. de
Euch. c. 9.*

cease not to be what they are by essence, and yet by the Consecration are made what before they were not. But where did our Transubstantiators learn out of St. Ambrose, or any of the Fathers, that to make the Sacrament is the same as to bring the natural body of Christ, and put it under the accidents of the bread, or in the place of its substance which is vanished away? They say, *That the comparison betwixt the things changed by Christ and the Prophet would be silly, if there be no more than a Sacramental change in the Eucharist;* as though the Sacramental change were a thing of nought. For (saith Cardinal Bellarmine) *what power is there required to do nothing?* But Protestants answer, that the Greatness, Majesty, Excellency, and Dignity of the Sacrament is such, that they admire no less the Omnipotency of God in sanctifying the Creatures to so high an office, and so holy an use, than in creating the world out of nothing, or changing the nature of things by the Ministry of his Prophets. For it is not by mans power, but by the divine vertue, that things earthly and mean of themselves, are made to us assured Pledges of the Body and Bloud of Christ. And if they urge the Letter of those words of

St. Am-

St. Ambrose, By the word of Christ the species of the Elements are changed, as Bellarmine and others do, why then, they must confess, that not only the substance, but also the species, or accidents (as they call them) of the Bread and Wine, are changed into the Body and Bloud of Christ. And so, being St. Ambrose and all the Ancients said indifferently, as well that the species of the Bread and Wine, as that the Bread and Wine themselves are changed, who will not from hence understand that the groundless Fabrick of Transubstantiation (whereby they would have the substance of the Elements so abolished in the Sacrament, that their meer accidents or appearances remain without any subject) is strongly battered and utterly ruined ?

16. All other Testimonies of the Fathers, if they say that the Bread is made the Body of Christ, are willingly owned by Protestants. For they hold that the Element cannot become a Sacrament, nor the Sacrament have a being without the thing which it represents. For the Cardinal himself will not affirm that the Body of Christ is produced out of the Bread. This is therefore what we say with St. Austin, and endeavour to prove by all means;

That

The rest of the Fathers.

De Consecr. dist. 2.
c. hoc est.

That the Sacrifice of the Eucharist is made of two things, the visible Element, and the invisible Flesh and Blood of Christ; as the Person of Christ consisteth of the Godhead and Manhood, he being true God and true Man; for every compound retains the nature of that whereof it is made: Now the Sacrament is composed of two things, the Sign, and the thing signified, that is the Body of Christ.

a Card.
Bellar. de
Euch. l. 3.
c. 20. 3. v.

b Extra
de Trin.
c. fide
Cathol. c. 1
c. Sess. 13.
ca. 4.

d Lib. 8.
contr. Hæ-
reses in-
dulg.
e Discurs.
modest. de
Fesuit.
p. 13. &
Wais.
Quodl. l. 1.
art. 4.

17. Let the Champions of Transubstantiation strut and vapour now, with their two and thirty stout Seconds, * who have stood for them, as they say, before the time of Pope Innocent the Third! For what ^b Innocent the Third decreed, and the Council of Trent ^c defined, (that it was ever the perswasion of the Catholick Church, that the Bread is so changed into the Body of Christ, that the substance of the bread vanishing away, only the flesh of Christ should remain under the accidents of the bread,) is so far from being true, that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, not only as to the name, but as to the thing it self, is wholly destitute of the Patronage of Antiquity, and left to shift for it self. ^a Alphonsus à Castro said, that in ancient Writers mention was made very seldom of Transubstantiation; had he said never, it had been more true. For so our ^d Jesuites ^e in England confessed, That
the

the business of Transubstantiation was not so much as toucht by the ancient Fathers ; which is very true, as will appear more at large in the following Chapter.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Writers of the Eleventh and Twelfth Century, from whom we may easily deduce and trace the History of Papal Transubstantiation. 1. What manner of Popes they were in those times. 2. The unhappy Age, wherein Divines were divided about the Point of the Eucharist. 3. The opinion of Fulbertus. 4. Followed by his Disciple Berengarius, who is opposed by others. 5, 6. The Doctrine of Berengarius defended. 7. The roaring of Leo the Ninth against Berengarius. 8. The Synod of Tours under Victor the Second, which cleared Berengarius as free from Error. 9. Pope Nicolas the Second, gathers another Synod against Berengarius, who is forced to make a wondrous

drous kind of Recantation. 10. The Authors of the ordinary Gloss censure the Recantation imposed on Berengarius. 11. He saith that he was violently compelled to make it for fear of being put to death. Lanfrancus and Guitmundus write against him. 12. Of Pope Hildebrand, and his Roman Council, wherein Berengarius was again cited and condemned in vain. 13. The Doctrine of St. Bernard approved. 14. The Opinion of Rupertus. 15. Lombard could define nothing of the Transubstantiation of the Bread, and reasons poorly upon the independency of the accidents. 16. Otho Frisingensis and those of his time confest that the Bread and Wine remain in the Eucharist. 17. P. Blesensis and St. Eduensis were the first that used the word of Transubstantiation. 18. Of the thirteenth Century, wherein Pope Innocent the Third published his Decree of the Transubstantiation of the Bread and Wine

Wine into the Body and Bloud of Christ.

19, and 20. The wonderful pride of Innocent the Third. The Lateran Council determined nothing concerning that Point. 21. The cruelty of the same Innocent, who by the Rack and the Fire sought to establish his new Doctrine. 22. What Gerson said of the Roman Church in his time. Many more Inventions proceed from Transubstantiation. Inextricable and unheard of questions. 23. New Orders of Monks and of the School-men. 24. Of their fine wrangling and disputing. 25. The Sacrament abused most grossly by the Patrons of Transubstantiation. 26, and 27. Holkot, Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and other Schoolmen, though sometimes they be not for Transubstantiation, yet they wholly submit to the Judgment of the Pope. 28. Of the Council of Constance. which took the Cup from the Laity. 29. Cardinal Cameracensis denies that Transubstantiation

stantiation can be proved by holy Scripture. 30. Of the Council of Florence, and the Instruction of the Armenians by Pope Eugenius the Fourth. 31. The Papal Curse in the Council of Trent, not to be feared. The Conclusion of the Book.

WE have proved it before, that the Leprosie of Transubstantiation did not begin to spread over the body of the Church in a thousand years after Christ. But at last the thousand years being expired, and Satan loosed out of his Prison, to go and deceive the Nations, and compass the Camp of the Saints about, then to the great damage of Christian Peace and Religion, they began here and there to dispute against the clear, constant, and universal consent of the Fathers, and to maintain the new-started opinion. It is known to them that understand History, what manner of times were then, and what were those Bishops who then governed the Church of Rome, Sylvester II, John XIX, and XX, Sergius IV, Benedictus VIII, John XXI, Benedict IX, Sylvester III, Gregory VI, Damasus

masus II, Leo IX, Nicolas II, Gregory VII, or Hildebrand; who tore to pieces the Church of Rome with grievous Schisms, cruel Wars, and great Slaughters. For the Roman Pontificat was come to that pass, that good men being put by, they whose Life and Doctrine was pious being oppressed, none could obtain that dignity, but they that could bribe best, and were most ambitious.

Card. Bar.
Tom. 10.
Annal.
an. 897.
§ 4. Gilb.
Genebr.
Chron. sub
init. secu-
li 10.

2. In that unhappy Age the Learned were at odds about the presence of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament; some defending the ancient Doctrine of the Church, and some the new-sprung up opinion.

3. Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, was Tutor to Berengarius, whom we shall soon have occasion to speak of, and his Doctrine was altogether conformable to that of the Primitive Church, as appears clearly out of his Epistle to Adeodatus, wherein he teacheth, That the Mystery of Faith in the Eucharist, is not to be lookt on with our bodily eyes, but with the eyes of our mind. For what appears outwardly Bread and Wine, is made inwardly the Body and Bloud of Christ; not that which is tasted with the mouth, but that which is relish'd by the hearts affection. Therefore (saith he) prepare the palate of thy Faith,

Fulbert
Bishop of
Chartres.
An. 1010.

Ep. ad
Adeod. in-
ter alia
ejus opera
impressa
Paris. An.
1608.

Faith, open the throat of thy Hope, and inlarge the bowels of thy Charity, and take that Bread of life which is the food of the inward man. Again. The perception of a divine taste proceeds from the faith of the inward man, whilst by receiving the saving Sacrament, Christ is received into the soul. All this is against those who teach in too gross a manner, that Christ in this Mystery enters carnally the mouth and stomach of the Receivers.

*Bereng.
Archdeacon of Angers. An.
1030.*

4. *Fulbert* was followed by *Berengarius* his Scholar, Archdeacon of *Angers* in *France*, a man of great worth, by the holiness both of his life and doctrine, as *Platina*, *Vincentius Bergomensis*, and many more. Witness this Encomium writ soon after his death by *Hildebert* Bishop of *Mans*, a most learned man, is thus recorded by our *William* of *Malmsbury*.

*Galliel.
Malmsf.
de gestis
Regum
Anglorum
lib.3.*

*That Berengarius who was so admired,
Although his name yet lives, is now expired;
H' out-lives himself, yet a sad fatal day
Him from the Church and State did snatch
away.*

*O dreadful day, why didst thou play the Thief?
And fill the world with ruine and with grief?
For by his death, the Church, the Laws, and all
The Clergies glory do receive a fall:*

HW

His sacred wisdom was too great for fame,
 And the whole world's too little for his name;
 Which to its proper Zenith none can raise,
 His merits do so far exceed all praise.
 Then surely thou art blest, nor dost thou less
 Heaven with thy Soul, Earth with thy Body
 bless.
 When I go hence, O may I dwell with thee,
 In thine appointed place where e're it be.

Now this *Berengarius* was not only Arch-
 deacon of *Angers*, but also the *Scholasticus*,
 or Master of the Chair, of the same
 Church (which dignity is ever enjoyed by the
 Chancellor of the University, for his Office is in
 great Churches to teach the Clergy, and instruct
 them in sound doctrine.) All this I have pro-
 duced more at large to manifest the base
 and injurious Calumnies, cast upon this
 worthy and famous man by latter Wri-
 ters, as ^a *John Garetius* of *Lovain*, ^b *William*
Alan our Country-man, and others;
 who not only accuse him of being an He-
 retick, but also a worthless and an unlear-
 ned man.

5. *Berengarius* stood up valiantly in de-
 fence of that Doctrine which 170 years
 before, was delivered out of Gods Word
 and the holy Fathers, in France by *Ber-*
tram, and *John Erigena*, and by others else-

K

where,

A. Thevet.
Vit illust.
Viv. l. 3.
c. 62.
Pap. Mass.
Annal.
Franc. l. 34

^a *Gares.*
de verâ
praesent.
in Epist.
nuncup. &
Clas. 5.
A. 1040.
^b *Alan. de*
Euch. l. 1.
c. 21.

where, against those who taught that in the Eucharist neither Bread nor Wine remained after the Consecration. Yet he did not either believe or teach (as many falsely and shamelessly have imputed to him) that nothing more is received in the Lords Supper, but bare Signs only, or meer Bread and Wine ; but he believed and openly profest, as St. *Austin* and other faithful Doctors of the Church had taught out of Gods Word, that in this Mystery, the souls of the Faithful are truly fed by the true Body and Bloud of Christ to life eternal. Nevertheless it was neither his mind nor his doctrine, that the substance of the Bread and Wine is reduced to nothing, or changed into the substance of the natural Body of Christ, or (as some then would have had the Church believe) that Christ himself comes down carnally from heaven. Intire books he wrote upon this subject, but they have been wholly supprest by his Enemies, and now are not to be found. Yet what we have of him in his greatest Enemy *Lanfrank* I here set down ; *By the Consecration at the Altar the Bread and Wine are made a Sacrament of Religion ; not to cease to be what they were, but to be changed into something else, and to become what they were not ;*

*Extant
apud Lan.
fr. de verit.
corp. Dom.
in Euch.*

not; agreeable to what St. Ambrose had taught. Again, There are two parts in the Sacrifice of the Church (this is according to St. Irenaus) the visible Sacrament, and the invisible thing of the Sacrament, that is, the Body of Christ. Item, The Bread and Wine which are Consecrated, remain in their substance, having a resemblance with that whereof they are a Sacrament, for else they could not be a Sacrament. Lastly, Sacraments are visible Signs of divine things, but in them the invisible things are honoured. All this agrees well with St. Austin and other Fathers above cited.

6. He did not therefore by this his Doctrine exclude the Body of Christ from the Sacrament, but in its right administration he joyned together the thing signified with the sacred Sign; and taught that the Body of Christ was not eaten with the mouth in a carnal way, but with the Mind, and Soul, and Spirit. Neither did Berengarius alone maintain this Orthodox and ancient Doctrine; for * Sigibert, * William of Malmesbury, * Matthew Paris, and * Matthew of Westminster make it certain, that almost all the French, Italians, and English of those times were of the same opinion; and that many things

a Chron. d Miræ editum.

b In Contin Bedæ.

c In bist. majori ad An 1037.

d Ad eundem annum.

Baron. ad
An. 1035.
S. 1. 6.

were said, writ, and disputed in its defence by many men; amongst whom was *Bruno*, then Bishop of the same Church of *Angers*. Now this greatly displeaseth the Papal faction, who took great care that those mens Writings should not be delivered to Posterity, and now do write, that the Doctrine of *Berengarius*, owned by the Fathers, and maintained by many famous Nations, sculkt only in some dark corner or other.

e A. 1050.
Cong. Ver.
sub Leone
Papa 9.
f Lanfr.
in libro
citato.

7. The first Pope who opposed himself to *Berengarius* was *Leo* the Ninth, a plain man indeed, but too much led by *Humbert* and *Hildebrand*. For as soon as he was de-fired, he pronounced sentence of Ex-communication against *Berengarius* absent and unheard; and not long after he called a Council at *Verceil*, wherein *John Erigena* and *Berengarius* were condemned, upon this account, that they should say, that the Bread and Wine in the Eucha-rist are only bare Signs; which was far from their thoughts, and farther yet from their belief. This roaring therefore of the *Lion* frightened not *Berengarius*, nay, the Gallican Churches did also oppose the Pope; and his Synod of *Verceil*, and defend with *Berengarius* the oppressed truth.

g But it
was about
20 years
after the
death of
this most
innocent
man.
h *Adelm.*
in Ep. ad
Bereng.
i These of
Ren. Ang
Leon, Dola
& Maclo.
&c.

8. To *Leo* succeeded Pope *Victor* the Second, who seeing that *Berengarius* could not be cast down and crushed by the Fulminations of his Predecessor, sent his Legate *Hildebrand* into France, and called another Council at *Tours*, where *Berengarius*, being cited, did freely appear, and whence he was freely dismissed, after he had given it under his hand, that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrifice of the Church, are not shadows and empty figures; and that he held none other but the common Doctrine of the Church concerning the Sacrament. For he did not alter his judgment (as modern Papists give out) but he persisted to teach and maintain the same Doctrine as before, as *Lanfrank* complains of him.

An. 1055.
Conc. Turon. sub
Vist. Papa
II.

9. Yet his Enemies would not rest satisfied with this, but they urged Pope *Nicholas* the Second, who (within a few months that *Stephen* the Tenth sate) succeeded *Victor* without the Emperours consent, to call a new Council at *Rome* against *Berengarius*. For, that sensual manner of presence, by them devised, to the great dishonour of Christ, being rejected by *Berengarius*, and he teaching as he did before, That the Body of Christ was not present in such a sort, as that it

An. 1058.
Con. Rom.
sub Nicol.
Papa II.

might be at pleasure brought in and out, taken into the stomach, cast on the ground, trod under foot, and bit or devoured by any beasts, they falsly charged him as if he had denied that it is present at all. An

An. 1059.

hundred and thirteen Bishops came to the Council, to obey the Popes Mandate,

k De Regn.

Ital. l. 9.

An. 1059.

1 In Chro.

Cassin. l. 3.

6. 33.

Berengarius came also; And (as ^k *Sigonius* and ¹ *Leo Ostiensis* say) when none present could withstand him, they sent for one *Albericus*, a Monk of *Mont Cassin*, made Cardi-

nal by Pope Stephen, who having asked seven days time, to answer in writing, brought at last his Scroll against *Berengarius*. The Reasons and Arguments used therein to convince his Antagonist are not now extant, but whatever they were,

Berengarius was commanded presently without any delay to recant, in that

m Baron.

ad A. 1059

§ 18.

n Habetur

apud Gra-

tian. de

Consecr.

dist. 2.

cap. 42.

form prescribed and appointed by Cardinal *Humbert*, which was thus: "I *Berengarius*, &c. assent to the holy Roman, and Apostolick See, and with my heart and mouth do profess that I hold that Faith concerning the Sacrament of the Lords Table which our Lord and Venerable Pope Nicholas, and this sacred Council, have determined and imposed upon me by their Evangelick and Apostolick Authority, to wit, That the Bread and Wine which are set on the Altar, are not after the Consecration

only

only a Sacrament, Sign, and figure, but also the very Body and Bloud of our Lord Jesus Christ, (thus far it is well enough, but what follows is too horrid, and is disowned by the Papists themselves) and that they (the Body and Bloud) are touched and broken with the hands of the Priests, and ground with the teeth of the Faithful, not Sacramentally only, but in truth and sensibly. This is the Prescript of the Recantation imposed on Berengarius, and by him at first rejected, but by imprisonment, and threats, and fear of being put to death, at last extorted from him.

o Pap.
Mass. An-
nal. Franc.
l. 3.

10. This form of Recantation is to be found entire in * Lanfrank, * Algerus, and * Gracian; yet the Glosser on Gratian, * John Semeca marks it with this note; *Except you understand well the words of Berengarius (he should rather have said of Pope Nicholas, and Cardinal Humbertus) you shall fall into a greater Heresie than his was, * for he exceeded the truth, and spake hyperbolically. And so Richard de Mediavilla; Berengarius being accused, overshot himself in his Justification; but the excess of his words should be ascribed to those who prescribed and forced them upon him. Yet in all this we hear nothing of Transubstantia-*

a Sub libri
quem cons.
Bereng.
scripsit
initium.
b Lib 2,
c. 15.
c Ubi su-
pra.
d In C. ego
Bereng. de
Consecrat.
dist. 2.
e In C.
utrum sub
figura 79.
f In 4. dist.
9. prin. 1.
g 1.

11. *Berengarius* at last escaped out of this danger, and conscious to himself of having denied the truth, took heart again, and refuted in writing his own impious and absurd Recantation, and said, *That by force it was extorted from him by the Church of Malignants, the Council of vanity.* *Lanfrank* of *Caen*, at that time head of a Monastery in *France*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Guilmundus*, *Aversanus* answered him. And though it is not to be doubted but that *Berengarius*, and those of his Party, writ and replied again and again, yet so well did their Adversaries look to it, that nothing of theirs remains, save some Citations in *Lanfrank*. But it were to be wisht that we had now the entire Works of *Berengarius*, who was a learned man, and a constant follower of Antiquity, for out of them we might know with more certainty how things went, then we can out of what his profest enemies have said.

Concil.
Rom sub
Hila. Papa
A. 1079.

12. This Sacramental debate ceased a while because of the tumults of War raised in *Apulia* and elsewhere by Pope *Nicholas* the Second; but it began again as soon as *Hildebrand*, called *Gregory* the Seventh, came to the Papal Chair. For

Berengarius

Berengarius was cited again to a new Council at Rome, where some being of one opinion, and some of another, (as it is in the Acts of that Council, writ by those of the Popes Faction) his cause could not be so intirely oppressed but that some Bishops were still found to uphold it. Nay, the Ring leader himself, Hildebrand, is said to have doubted, *whether what we receive at the Lords Table be indeed the Body of Christ by a substantial conversion.* But three months space having been granted to Berengarius, and a Fast appointed to the Cardinals, *that God would shew by some sign from heaven (which yet he did not) who was in the right the Pope or Berengarius concerning the Body of the Lord;* at last the business was decided without any Oracle from above, and a new form of retraction imposed on Berengarius whereby he was henceforth forward to confess, under pain of the Popes high displeasure, *that the Mystick Bread (first made ^m Magical and enchanting by Hildebrana) is substantially turned into ⁿ the true and proper Flesh of Christ,* which whether he ever did is not certain, For though ^o Malmesbury tells us,

g Excus- cum Lan- fran. libro. 6^o apud Binium.

h Engilb. Archiep. Trevir. apud Goldast. Imp. Tom. 1.

i Bertold. Const. Chron. An. 1079.

k Benno Card. in vita Hild.

l Habetur ista formula apud Tho. Waldens. Tom.

c. 42. in Registr.

Greg 7. m Brix. Syn. Episc. apud Abb. Hesperg in Chron. ad An 1080. n Addit

formula praescripta in proprietate naturae. o De Gest. Angl. l. 3. c. 58. Et post eum ab aliis. Vide Bill. Chronol. An. 1079.

that

p Pogr. Comment. 31.
ad 2. part. direct. in-
quisit.
q Bertol. Const. qui
tempore Berengar. vixit
ad An. 1083.

r Vincent. in Spec.
l. 26. c. 40.
Baron. ad An. 1088.
S. 13, &c.

that he died in that Roman Faith, yet
there are ancients than he,
who say, that he was never conver-
ted from his first opinion. And some
relate, that after this last condemna-
tion having given over his Studies,
and given to the poor all he had, he
wrought with his own hands for his
living. Other things related of
him by some slaves of the Roman

See, deserve no credit. These things hap-
pened, as we have said, in the year 1079.
and soon after Berengarius died.

13. Berengarius being dead the Ortho-
dox and ancient Doctrine of the Lords
Supper which he maintained did not die
with him (as the *Chronicus Cassinensis*
would have it :) For it was still constant-
ly retained by St. Bernard, Abbot of Clair-
vaux, who lived about the beginning of
the twelfth Century. In his discourse on
the Lords Supper, he joyns together the
outward form of the Sacrament, and the spiri-
tual efficacy of it, as the shell and the ker-
nel, the sacred Sign, and the thing signi-
fied; the one he takes out of the words of
the Institution, and the other, out of
Christs Sermon in the sixth of St. John.
And in the same place explaining, that
Sacraments are not things absolute in them-
selves

Chron.
Cassin. l. 3.
c. 33.
St. Bern.
An. 1120.

Serm. de
Cena Dom.
Joh. 6, 56,
63.

selves without any relation, but Myste-
 ries, wherein by the gift of a visible sign,
 an invisible and divine grace with the
 Body and Bloud of Christ is given, he
 saith, *That the visible Sign is as a Ring, which*
is given not for it self or absolutely, but to invest
and give possession of an Estate made over to one.
Many things (saith he) are done for their
own sake, and many in reference to something
else, and then they are called Signs. A Ring is
given absolutely as a gift, and then it hath no
other meaning; it is also given to make good an
Investiture or Contract, and then it is a Sign.
 So that he that receives it may say, *The Ring*
is not worth much, it is what it signifies, the
Inheritance I value. In this manner when the
 Passion of our Lord drew nigh, he took care that
 his Disciples might be invested with his graces,
 that his invisible grace might be affixed and gi-
 ven to them by a visible sign. To this end all
 Sacraments are instituted, and to this the par-
 ticipation of the Eucharist is appointed. Now,
 as no man can fancy that the Ring is sub-
 stantially changed into the Inheritance,
 whether Lands or Houses, none also can
 say with truth, or without absurdity, that
 the Bread and Wine are substantially
 changed into the Body and Bloud of
 Christ, But in his Sermon on the Purifi-
 cation, which none doubts to be his, he
 speaks

Serm. de
 Purif. B.
 Maria.

speaks yet more plain ; *The Body of Christ in the Sacrament is the food of the soul, not of the belly, therefore we eat him not corporally ; but in the manner that Christ is meat, in the same manner we understand that he is eaten.* Also in his Sermon on St. Martin, which undoubtedly is his also ; *To this day (saith he) the same flesh is given to us, but spiritually, therefore not corporally.* For the truth of things spiritually present is certain also. As to what he saith in another place, *that the Priest holds God in his hands, it is a flourish of Oratory, as is that of St. Chrysostom, In comes the Priest carrying the Holy Ghost.*

Serm. de
S. Mart.

Lib. 3. de
Sacerd.

Rupert.
Abb. An.
1125.

14. About the same time *Rupertus*, Abbot of *Tuitium*, famous by his Writings, did also teach that the Substance of the Bread in the Eucharist is not converted, but remains. These be his words ; *'You must attribute all to the operation of the Holy Ghost, who never spoils or destroys any substance he useth, but to that natural Goodness it had before, adds an invisible excellency which it had not.* He hath indeed an unwarrantable opinion of the Union of the Bread and Body of Christ into one Person, but it came (as some others, as absurd in that Age) from too great a curiosity about determining the manner of Christ's

a In Exod.
l 2 c. o.
b Ex qua
Consequa-
batur, Pa-
nem esse
Corpus
Christi,
sed Corpus
non huma-
num neque
carneum,
sed Pana-
reum.

Christs Presence, and of the Union of his Body with the Bread, about which that learned man troubled himself too much. However he neither taught nor mentioned Transubstantiation.

15 Not long after that *Algerus*, a Monk, and some others had had some disputes about this subject, *Pet. Lombard* made up his Books of Sentences, in the fourth whereof he treats of the Eucharist, and thinks that it is taught by some sayings of the Ancients; *That the substance of the Bread and Wine is changed into the Body and Bloud of Christ.* But soon after he adds; *If it be demanded what manner of change that is, whether formal, or substantial, or of any other kind, that I cannot resolve.* Therefore he did not yet hold Transubstantiation as a point of Faith: Nay, he doth not seem constant to himself in making it a probable opinion, but rather to waver, to say and unsay, and to shelter his cause under the Fathers name, rather than maintain it himself. Of the accidents remaining without a subject, and of the breaking into parts the body of Christ, (as *Berengarius* was bid to say by Pope *Nicholas*) he reasons strangely but very poorly.

Pet. Lombard An. 1140. Sens. l. 4.

Dist. 10.

Dist. 11.

16. *Otho*, Bishop of *Frisingen*, as great by his Piety and Learning as by his Bloud, (for

Otho Frisingensis, An. 1145.

(for he was Nephew to *Henry* the Fourth, and the Emperour *Henry* the Fifth married his Sister, he was also Uncle to *Frederick*, and half Brother to King *Conrad*) lived about the same time. He believed and writ, * *That the Bread and Wine remain in the Eucharist*, as did many more in that Age.

c *Christ.*
Agric. in
Antipist.
p. 13.

An. 1180.

17. As for the new-coyn'd word *Transubstantiation* it is hardly to be found before the middle of this Century. For the first that mention it are *Petrus Blesensis*, who lived under Pope *Alexander* the Third, and *Stephen Eduensis* a Bishop, whose Age and Writings are very doubtful. And those latter Authors * who make it as ancient as the tenth Century, want sufficient Witnesses to prove it by, as I said * before.

a Ep. 140.
e De Sacr.
Altaris in
B. B. Pa-
trum.
f Bell. &
Possiv de
Script.
Eccl.
g Chap. 5.
Art. 50.

18. The thirteenth Century now follows; wherein the World growing both older and worse, a great deal of trouble and confusion there was about Religion; the Bishop of *Rome* exalted himself not only into his lofty Chair, over the Universal Church, but even into a Majestical Throne, over all the Empires and Kingdoms of the world. New Orders of Friars sprung up in this Age, who disputed and clamoured fiercely against many Doctrines

An. 1215.
Innocen. 3.
Papa.

Doctrines of the ancients and purer Church, and amongst the rest against that of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ: So that now there remained nothing but to confirm the new Tenet of Transubstantiation, and impose it so peremptorily on the Christian world, that none might dare so much as to hiss against it. This Pope *Innocent* the Third bravely performed. He succeeding *Celestin* the Third at thirty years of age, and marching stoutly in the foot-steps of *Hildebrand*, called a Council at *Rome* in *St. John Lateran*, and was the first that ever presumed to make the new-devised-Doctrine of Transubstantiation an Article of Faith necessary to salvation, and that by his own meer authority.

The Lateran Council.

19. How much he took upon himself, and what was the mans spirit and humour will easily appear to any man by these his words which I here set down. To me it is said in the Prophet, I have set thee over Nations, and over Kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, and to build, and to plant. To me also it is said in the person of the Apostle, To thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. For I am in a middle state betwixt God and man, below God, but above man; yea, greater than man, being

Innocen 3.
Serm. 2.

h Idem

Serm. 3.

i Job. 3. 29

being I judge all men, and can be judged by none:
 Am not I the Bridegroom, and each of you the
 Bridegrooms friend? The Bridegroom I am, be-
 cause I have the Bride, the noble, rich, lofty,
 and holy Church of Rome, who is the Mother
 and Mistress of all the Faithful, who hath

h Addit, multa filia
 congregaverunt divi-
 tias, hac autem sola
 supergressa est uni-
 versas.

h Epist. ad Imper. Con-
 stant. Extrâ de Majo-
 rit. & Obedientia.
 c. 6.

brought me a precious and inestimable
 portion, to wit, the fulness of things
 spiritual, and the vastness of tempo-
 ral, with the greatness and multitude
 of both— God made two great
 Lights in the Firmament of heaven;
 he hath also made two great Lights
 in the firmament of the Universal

Church, that is, he hath instituted two digni-
 ties which are the Papal authority, and the Re-
 gal. But that which governs the day, that is,
 spiritual things, is the greater; and that which
 governs carnal things the less; so that it ought
 to be acknowledged that there is the same diffe-
 rence between the (Roman) High Priest and
 Kings, as between the Sun and Moon. Thus
 he, when he was become Christs Vicar,
 or rather his Rival. These things I re-
 hearse that we may see how things went,
 and what was the face of the Latine
 Church, when Pope Innocent the Third
 propounded and imposed Transubstantia-
 tion as an Article of Faith; as is
 plainly and at large set down by a learned
 Author

in Extrâ.
 de Tran-
 substant.

Author *George Calixtus* who deserves equally to be praised and imitated.

20. This *Innocent* therefore, who to encrease his Power and Authority wrought great troubles to the Emperour *Philip*, stript *Otho* the Fourth of the Empire, forced *John* King of *England* to yield up into his hand this Kingdom, and that of *Ireland*, and make them Tributary to the See of *Rome*; who, under pretence of a spiritual Jurisdiction, took to himself both the Supreme Power over things temporal, and the things themselves; who was proud and ambitious beyond all men, covetous to the height of greediness (they are the words of *Matthew Paris*, and ever ready to commit the most wicked villanies so he might be recompenced for it; this (I say) was the man who in his *Lateran* Council propounded that Transubstantiation should be made an Article of Faith, and when the Council would not ° grant it, did it himself by his own Arbitrary Power, against which none durst open his mouth. For those Canons which this day are shewn about under the name of the Council, are none of his, but meerly the Decrees of Pope *Innocent*, first writ by him, and read in the ° Council, and disliked by many, and afterwards set down in the

n Th hist.
Johan. Re-
gis Anglia.

o Mat. Pa-
ris in hist.
minori. &
Platin. in
vita Inno-
cent. 3.

p Verba
Mat. Par.
in Hist.
Mai. ad
An. 1215.

Book of Decretals under certain titles, by his Nephew Gregory the Ninth.

Extr. de
fide &
sum. Trin.
& firmiter
credimus.

21. The same Pope, after he had pronounced them Hereticks who for the future should deny *that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the outward form of Bread and Wine, the Bread being Transubstantiated into the Body, and the Wine into the Blood; delivers them all, of what office or dignity soever, to the Secular Power* ^{to receive condign punishment, that is, to be burnt,} commands those that are suspected to be tried and examined; and declares them infamous, disabled from making a Will, and incapable of any Office or Inheritance that should favour or entertain them, and sets all other Christians against them. Then he ordains *that the Secular Powers shall be compelled by Ecclesiastick Censures publicly to swear that they will defend (This) Faith, and endeavour utterly to destroy all whom the Church (of Rome) should note for Hereticks. But (saith he) if the temporal Prince doth neglect this, let him be excommunicated: And if he slights to give satisfaction within a year, let the sovereign Pontif be certified of it, that he may absolve his Subjects from their allegiance, and expose his Territories to be taken and enjoyed without any contradiction by any*
Catholicks

q ibid.

r ibid.

Catholicks (Romans) that destroy the Hereticks, &c. (that is, those who do not believe Transubstantiation.) Thus Innocent the Third by Excommunications, and by Arms, by Rebellions, by Tortures, and by burning alive was pleased to establish his new Article of Faith.

22. And truly had he not used such means, they themselves who did cleave to the Church of *Rome* would not have embraced this Doctrine. For it did not find such acceptance, but that many notwithstanding did now and then oppose it. Nay, not only Transubstantiation, but even the Church (or rather the Court) of *Rome*, which, if we believe Chancellour *Gerson*, was at this time wholly brutish and carnal, without almost any sense of the things of God, was rejected by many, as it is well known. For certain it is, that Transubstantiation being once established, there was a foundation laid to many Superstitions and Errors, which could neither be suffered nor approved by those that feared God. And among the Subscribers to Transubstantiation there grew a thicket of thorny and monstrous questions, wherewith the Schoolmen were so busie, that it may with great truth be affirmed, that then came to light a Divinity concerning

Transubstantiation and the Court of *Rome* rejected by many.

Gers. de Concil gener.

the holy Sacrament, and the Adoration of it, which was not only very new, but very strange also, and never heard of among the Fathers. There grew also out of the same stock Illusions, and false Miracles, deceitful Dreams, feined Visions, and such like unchristian devices about the Corporal Presence of Christ, as that some did see a Child in the Host, some Flesh, some Bloud, any thing that could come into the idle fancies of idle and superstitious men. One at the point of death durst not receive the Body of Christ, because he could keep nothing in; but as he drew nigh to adore it, his Breast bare, and his Arms open, the Host, leaping out of the Priests hand, having made it self a passage, entred of its own accord into the place where the dying mans heart lay hid, and the hole being made up again without any thing of a scar, the man lay down and then expired. Another^u being ready to die begged, that, his side being washt, and covered with a clean cloath, the Body of Christ might be set on it: which being done, the cloath by degrees gave place to the Body of Christ, and soon after when that divine Body toucht the mans skin, it penetrated to his very heart in the sight of all the by standers. They also tell the Story, or rather the Fable, How that the Body of Christ (for so they call the Consecrated

† Thom.
Walsing.
in hypod.
neusir. ad
An. 1218.

u Discip.
de Temp.
serm. 8c.

secrated Bread) being set in a Busbel upon some Oats, an Horse, an Oxe, and an Ass bowed their knees, and adored their Lord in the Host. These, and such like Fictions were dayly invented without number by the Patrons of Transubstantiation, and the impudence and boldness of coyning such Forgeries hath from them past upon their Successors. This was observed by King James in the Writings of * Bellarmine himself, who reports of a certain devout Mare that worshipped the Host kneeling, (knowing doubtless that by a due Consecration it was Transubstantiated.) *Cesarins* the Monk, who lived soon after *Innocent* the Third, is full of such Miracles ; and yet he hath a History which shews that in his time Transubstantiation was utterly unknown to a learned Priest, Canon of a great Church. *At* Colen (saith he.) there was a Canon in full Orders, called Peter, when on a certain day another of the Canons was sick, and about to receive the Sacrament in his presence, the officiating Priest asked the sick man, Dost thou believe that this is the true Body of the Lord which was born of the Virgin ? He made answer, I believe it ; Peter hearing and observing their words was amazed at them. Afterwards he coming alone to *Everhardus* the Professor of Divinity, who had been also present

x Car Bellarm. Apol. q 132.

at the Communion, he asked him, Did the Priest question the sick man aright? He answered yes, and whoever believes otherwise is an Heretick. Then Peter, weeping, and smiting his breast, cried out, Woe is me wretched Priest! How have I hitherto said Mass? For to this hour I thought that the Bread and Wine after the Consecration were only a Sacrament, that is, the sign and representation of the Lords Body and Blood.

y For so it
was de-
creed by
Innocent 3

23. I have already touched it, that, together with the new Doctrine of Transubstantiation, there sprung up new Sects of Friars, which indeed in a short time increased beyond belief. For now to the Order of *Dominicans* (whom *Innocent* the Third had made his Inquisitors to kill and burn Hereticks) was added the Order of begging *Franciscans*; and the *Augustine* *Eremites*, and the *Carmelites* were set up again. From these came the Schoolmen, as we now call them, whose studies (as studies were in that time) were all imployed about Commencing *Peter Lombard* Master of the Sentences.

Mean-
ing those
that deny
Transub-
stantiation.

24. These men tired their brains (as we said) about unheard of questions, touching Transubstantiation, such as pious ears would abhor to hear. For they ask,
1. Whether that be the Body of Christ
which

Alex.
Alenf. l. 4.
g. 53. m. 4.
n. 1.

which sometimes appears in the form of Flesh, or of a Child on the Altar, and answer that they know not; *because such Apparitions happen often, and are caused either by mens juggling, or by the operation of the Devil.*

2. Whether the Mice (who sometimes feast upon the Hosts when they are not well shut up) eat the Body of Christ it self? Or if a Dog or a Hog should swallow down the Consecrated Host whole, whether the Lords Body should pass into their belly together with the accidents? Some indeed answer (other some being otherwise minded) that, *though the Body of Christ enters not into the Brutes mouth as corporal meat, yet it enters together with the appearances by reason that they are inseparable one from the other, (meer nonsense) for as long as the accidents of the Bread (i. e. the shape, and taste, and colour, &c.) remain in their proper being, so long is the Body of Christ inseparably joyned with them; wherefore if the accidents in their nature pass into the belly, or are cast out by vomiting, the Body of Christ is self must of necessity go along with them: and for this cause pious souls (I repeat their own words) do frequently eat again with great reverence the parts of the Host cast out by vomiting. Others answer also; That a beast eats not the Body of Christ Sacramentally, but accidentally,*

*Idem q. 45.
m. 1. a. 2.*

*a Ibid q.
5. m. 3.*

*b Tho. Aq.
sum. p. 3.
q. 80. c. 3.*

dentally, as a man that should eat a Consecrated Host, not knowing that it was consecrated.

c Alger.
l. 2. c. 1.

3. They inquire about musty and rotten Hosts, and because the Body of Christ is incorruptible, and not subject to putrefaction, therefore they answer; *That the Hosts are never so, and that though they appear as if they were, yet in reality they are not; as Christ appeared as a Gardener though he was no Gardener.* 4. They demand concerning indigested Hosts which passing through the belly are cast into the draught, or concerning those that are cast into the worst of sinks, or into the dirt. Whether such Hosts cease to be the Body of Christ?

d Thom. in
4. dist. 9.
q. 2. a. 1.
Brutif in
4. dist. 13.
q. 5.

And answer, *a That whether they be cast into the Sink or the Privy, as long as the appearances remain, the Body of Christ is inseparable from*

c G eg.
Papa XI.

f Soto in
4. dist. 12.
q. 1. a. 3.
Vasq. in 3.
disp. 195.
c. 5.

Direc. In-
quis p 1.
n. 15. &
p. 2. q. 10.

And for the contrary opinion, they say that it is not tenable, and that it is not safe for any to hold it, because the Pope hath forbid it should be maintained under pain of Excommunication. Therefore the Modern Schoolmen add, *That if any should hold the contrary after the Popes determination, he should be condemned by the Church* (of Rome that is:) Nay, they hold it to be a Point of Faith which none may doubt of, because the contrary Doctrine hath been condemned by Pope Gregory the Eleventh.

5. They

5. They ask concerning the accidents, whether the Body of Christ be under them when they are abstracted from their subject? This is against Logick. Or whether Worms be gendred, or Mice nourished of accidents? And this against Physick. 6. Whether the Body of Christ can at the very same time move both upwards and downwards, one Priest lifting up the Host, and another setting it down. And I know not how many more such thorny questions have wearied and non-plust them and all their School, and brought them to such straights and extremities, that they know not what to resolve, nor what shifts to make. And truly it had been very happy for Religion if, as the Ancients never touched or mentioned Transubstantiation, so latter times had never so much as heard of its name. For God made his Sacrament *upright* (as he did *Man*) but about it they have sought out many inventions. Ecc. 7.
29.

25. Likewise, this Transubstantiation hath given occasion to some most wicked and impious Wretches to abuse and profane most unworthily what they thought to be the Body of Christ. For instances may be brought of some wicked Priests, who for filthy lucre have sold some Consecrated

h *Lewnel.*
de reb^{us}
Turc.
n. 116.

secrated Hosts to Jews and Sorcerers, who have stabb'd and burnt them, and used them for Witchcraft and Inchantments. Nay, we read^t that St. *Lewis* himself (very ill advised in that) gave once to the Turks and Saracens a consecrated Host as a pledge of his Promise, and an assurance of Peace. Now, can any one, who counts these things abominable, perswade himself that our Blessed Saviour would have appointed, that his most holy Body should be present in his Church in such a manner, as that it should come into the hands of his greatest Enemies, and the worst of Infidels; and be eaten by Dogs and Rats, and be vomited up, burnt, cast into Sinks, and used for Magical Poysons and Witchcraft? I mention these with horror and trembling, and therefore abstain from raking any more in this dunghill.

26. No wonder therefore if this new Doctrine of *Innocent* the Third, being liable to such foul absurdities and detestable abuses, few men could be perswaded, in the fourteenth Century, that the Body of Christ is really (or by Transubstantiation) in the Sacrament of the Altar; as it is recorded by our Country-man^t *Robert Holkot*, who lived about the middle of that Century. As also^k *Thomas Aquinas* reports of some

i In 4. q. 3.
An. 1350.
k 3. q. 75.
a. 6.

some in his time, who believed that after Consecration, not only the accidents of the Bread, but its substantial form remained. And Albertus Magnus himself, who was Thomas his Tutor, and writ not long after Innocent the Third, speaks of Transubstantiation as of a doubtful question only. Nay, that it was absolutely rejected and opposed by many, is generally known; for the Anathema of Trent had not yet backt the Lateran Decree.

27. As for the rest of the Schoolmen (especially the modern) who are as it were sworn to Pope Innocent's determination, they use to express their belief in this matter with great words, but neither pious nor solid, in this manner; ¹ The common opinion is to be embraced, not because reason requires it, but because it is determined by the Bishop of Rome. Item, ^m That ought to be of greatest weight that we must hold with the holy Church of Rome about the Sacraments; now it holds that the Bread is Transubstantiated into the Body, and the Wine into the Blood, as it is clearly said, Extra. De fide & summa Trinitate. Cap. firmiter. Again, ⁿ I prove that of necessity the Bread is changed into the Body of Christ, for we must hold that declaration of faith which the Pope declares must be held. Thus among the Papists, if it be the pleasure

¹ Th. Ar.
gent. in 4.
d. 11. q. 1.
art. 2.

^m Scot. in
4. dist. 11.
q. 3.

ⁿ Bacon in
4. dist. 8.
q. 1. a. 1.

pleasure of an imperious Pope as was *Innocent* the Third, Doctrines of Faith shall now and then increase in bulk and number, though they be such as are most contrary to holy Scripture, though they were never heard of in the Primitive Church; and though from them such consequences necessarily follow, as are most injurious to Christ and his holy Religion. For after *Innocent* the Third, the *Roman* Faith was thus much^o increased by the determination of Pope *Gregory* the Eleventh^e, that if it so happens, the Body of Christ in the Consecrated Host may descend into a Rats belly, or into a Privy, or any such foul place.

o Ut supra
Art. 24.
p A. 1371.

The Council of Con-
stance. An.
1415.

28. In the fifteenth Century the Council of *Constance* (which by a Sacrilegious attempt took away the Sacramental Cup from the People, and from the Priests when they do not officiate) did wrongfully condemn *Wiclif*, who was already dead, because amongst other things he had taught with the Ancients, *That the substance of the Bread and wine remains materially in the Sacrament of the Altar; and that in the same Sacrament, no accidents of Bread and Wine remain without a substance.* Which two Assertions are most true.

29. Cardinal

29. Cardinal *Cameracensis*, who lived about the time of the Council of *Constance*, doth not seem to own the Decree of Pope *Innocent* as the determination of the Church. For that the Bread should still remain, he confesseth, *That it is possible: That it is not against reason or the authority of the Bible.* But concerning the conversion of the Bread he says, *That clearly it cannot be inferred from Scripture, nor yet from the determination of the Church,* as he judgeth. Yet because the common opinion was otherwise, he yielding to the times was fain to follow, though with some reluctance.

Card. Cameracensis An. 1420.

^a In 4.
^q 6. 2. 2.

30. The Council of *Florence*, which was not long after, did not at all treat with the *Greeks* about Transubstantiation, nor the Consecration of the Sacrament, but left them undetermined, with many other Controversies. But that which is called the *Armenians* instruction (and in this cause, and almost all Disputes is cited as the Decree of the General Council of *Florence*, by ^b *Soto*, ^c *Bellarmino*, and the *Roman* ^d *Catechism*) is no Decree of the Council, as we have demonstrated ^e somewhere else; but a false and forged Decree of Pope *Eugenius* the

The Council of Florence, An. 1439.

Instructio ad Armen.

^b In 4. dist. 11. q. 1. art. 2.
^c De Euch. l. 4. c. 13.
^d Part. 2. c. 4. num. 18.
^e In the History of the Canon of Scripture, p. 158.

Fourth,

Fourth, who doth indeed in that Instruction prescribe to the *Armenians* a form of Doctrine about the Sacrament, saying, *That by vertue of the words of Christ, the substance of the Bread is turned into his Body, and the substance of the wine into his Bloud:* But that he did it with the approbation of the Council, as he often says in his Decree, is proved to be altogether false, as well by the Acts of the Council, as by the unanswerable Arguments of *C. de Capite Fontium*, Archbishop of *Casarea*, in his Book *De necessaria Theologia Scholastica correctione*, dedicated to Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth. For how could the Council of *Florence* approve that Decree which was made more than three months after it was ended? It being certain, that after the Council was done, the *Armenians* with the *Greeks*, having each of them signed Letters of Union, (which yet were not approved by all, nor long in force after they were subscribed) departed out of *Florence* *July* 22, whereas the Instruction was not given while *November* 22. Therefore by the mutual consent of both Parties was nothing here done or decreed about Transubstantiation, or the rest of the Articles of the new Roman Faith. But *Eugenius*, or whoever was the Forger of the Decree,

fc de Cap.
Font. ae
necess. cor.
Schol. The.
p. 51, 53,
& 56.

g Ex Aff.
Conc. Flor.

Decree, put a cheat upon his Reader. Perhaps he had seen the same done by *Innocent* the Third, or *Gregory* the Ninth, in the pretended Decrees of the Council of *Lateran*, which were the Popes only, but not the Council's. And certainly it is more likely *Eugenius* did it rather to please himself, than for any hopes he could have that at his command the *Armenians* would receive and obey his Instruction sooner than the *Greeks*. For to this day the *Armenians* believe that the Elements of Bread and Wine retain their nature in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

^h Feb. La-
fic. de Re-
lig. Arme-
niorum.

31. By these any considering person may easily see, that Transubstantiation is a meer novelty; not warranted either by Scripture or Antiquity; invented about the middle of the Twelfth Century, out of some misunderstood Sayings of some of the Fathers; confirmed by no Ecclesiastick or Papal Decree before the year 1215. afterwards received only here and there in the *Roman* Church; debased in the Schools by many disputes; liable to many very bad consequences; rejected (for there was never those wanting that opposed it) by many great and pious men, until it was maintained in the Sacrilegious Council of *Constance*; and at last in the

i Concil.
Trident.
Sess. 13.

k Bulla
Pii 4. de
profess.
fidei.

the year 1551. confirmed in the Council of *Trent*, by a few Latine Bishops, Slaves to the *Roman* See; imposed upon all, under pain of an Anathema to be feared by none; and so spread too too far, by the tyrannical and most unjust command of the ^k Pope. So that we have no reason to embrace it, untill it shall be demonstrated, that except the substance of the Bread be changed into the very Body of Christ, his words cannot possibly be true; nor his Body present. Which will never be done.

A

A Table of the places of Scripture cited in this Book.

E <i>Xod</i> XII. 11, 21.	Chap. I.	Art. 4
<i>Eccl.</i> VII. 29.	Chap. VII.	24
<i>St. Mat.</i> XXVI. 26.	Chap. I.	1
<i>St. Luk.</i> XXII. 19.	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>St. Job.</i> III. 3.	Chap. VI.	7
<i>St. Job.</i> III. 29.	Chap. VII.	19
<i>St. Job.</i> VI. 55.	Chap. I.	5
<i>Rom.</i> XII. 3.	Chap. VI.	7
<i>1 Cor.</i> IV. 15.	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>1 Cor.</i> X. 16.	Chap. I.	1
<i>1 Cor.</i> X. 3, & 4.	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>Gal.</i> VI. 15.	Chap. VII.	7
<i>Eph.</i> IV. 22.	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>1 Pet.</i> I. 3.	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>Jude</i> v. 3.	In the Preface.	

A Table of the Ancient Fathers.

Century I.		
C <i>Lemens Romanus</i>	Chap. VI.	Art. 1
<i>St. Ignatius</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	10
Century II.		
<i>Theoph. Antioch.</i>	Chap. VI.	1
<i>Justinus Martyr.</i>	Chap. V.	7
	— VI.	11
<i>Athenagoras</i>	3 Chap. VI.	1
<i>Tatianus</i>	3	
<i>Irenaeus,</i>	Chap. V.	8
	— VI.	5, & 7
Century III.		
<i>Tertullian,</i>	Chap. V.	9
	— VI.	7
	M	<i>Origenes,</i>

A Table.

<i>Origenes,</i>	Chap. V.	10
	VI.	5, & 7
<i>Cyprian,</i>	Chap. V.	11
	VI.	7, 8, & 12
<i>Clem. Alexand.</i>	Chap. VI.	1, & 7
<i>Minutius Felix,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>Arnobius,</i>	Chap. V.	35
	Century IV.	
<i>Euseb. Cesar.</i>	Chap. VI.	1
<i>Athanasius,</i>	Chap. V.	13
<i>Cyril. Hieros.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	14
	VI.	5, & 7
<i>Judencus,</i>	}	
<i>Macarius,</i>		
<i>Hilarius,</i>		
<i>Optatus,</i>		
<i>Euseb. Emiss.</i>		
<i>Greg. Naz.</i>		
<i>Cyril. Alex.</i>		
<i>Epiphanius,</i>		6, & 7
<i>Hieronimus,</i>		
<i>Theoph. Alex.</i>		6
<i>Gaudentius,</i>		
<i>St. Basil.</i>	Chap. V.	15
	VI.	7
<i>Greg Nyss.</i>	Chap. V.	16
	VI.	7
<i>Ambrosius,</i>	Chap. V.	17
	VI.	6, 7, 13
<i>Chrysost.</i>	Chap. V.	Art. 18
	VI.	6, 7, 8
	Century V.	
<i>St. Austin,</i>	Chap. V.	19
<i>Prosper III.</i>	Chap. V.	20
<i>Leo IV.</i>		
	<i>Theodoret.</i>	

A Table

<i>Theodoret.</i>	Chap. V.	27
	VI.	10
<i>Gelasius,</i>	Chap. V.	22
<i>Sedulius,</i>	}	Chap. VI.
<i>Gennadius,</i>		
<i>Faustus Reg.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	7
	Century VI.	
<i>Ephrem,</i>	Chap. V.	24
<i>Facundus,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	25
<i>Fulgentius.</i>	Chap. VI.	I
<i>Victor Antioch.</i>	}	Chap. VI.
<i>Primasius,</i>		
<i>Procop. Gaz.</i>		
	Century VII.	
<i>Isidorus Hispal.</i>	Chap. V.	26
<i>Hesychius,</i>	Chap. VI.	I, & 2
<i>Maximus,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	I
	Century VIII.	
<i>Vener. Beda,</i>	Chap. V.	27
<i>Carol. Magnus,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	28
<i>Damasceus,</i>	Chap. VI.	I
	Century IX.	
<i>Paschasius,</i>	Chap. V.	29
<i>Amalarius,</i>	—	30
<i>Rabanus Maurus,</i>	—	31
<i>Joh. Erigena,</i>	—	32
<i>Wal. Strabo,</i>	—	33
<i>Bertramus</i>	—	34
<i>Niceph. Patria.</i>	}	Chap. VI.
<i>Hincmarus,</i>		
	Century X.	
<i>Herigerus,</i>	Chap. V.	36
<i>Fulbertus,</i>	Chap. VI.	I
	Century XI.	
<i>Idem Fulbertus,</i>	Chap. VII.	3
<i>Berengarius,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	4, 5, 6, & c.
	M 2	<i>Hildebertus,</i>

A Table.

<i>Hildebertus,</i>	Chap. VII.	4
<i>Theophylact,</i>	}	7
<i>Oecumenius,</i>		
	Century XII.	
<i>Bernardus,</i>	Chap. VII.	13
	III.	2
<i>Rupertus,</i>	Chap. VII.	14

A Table of the Schoolmen.

	Century XIII.	
L <i>Ombardus,</i>	Chap. VII.	Art. 15
<i>Alex. Alensis,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	24
	VI.	2
<i>Albertus Magnus,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	26
<i>Tho. Aquinas,</i>	—	2
<i>Rich. de Mediavilla,</i>	Chap. VII.	10
	Century XIV.	
<i>Scotus,</i>	}	2
<i>Durandus,</i>		
<i>Occamus,</i>		1
<i>Baconus,</i>	Chap. VII.	27
<i>Holcotus,</i>	—	26
<i>Th. Argent.</i>	—	27
<i>Brulifer,</i>	—	24
	Century XV.	
<i>Card. Camer.</i>	Chap. V.	Art. 3
	VII.	29
<i>Gabriel Biel,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	
	Century XVI.	
<i>Cajetan,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>Dom. Soto.</i>	Chap. VII.	24

A Table of the Councils.

N <i>Iceene I.</i>	Chap. V	Art. 13
<i>Calced.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	23

A Table.

<i>Ancyran.</i>	}	Chap. VI.	1
<i>Neocæsariæ.</i>			
<i>Laodiceum,</i>			
<i>Carthagin.</i>			
<i>Aurelian.</i>			
<i>Toletanum IV.</i>			
<i>Braccarense,</i>	}	Chap. VII.	12
<i>Toletan. VI.</i>			
<i>Constantin. VI.</i>			
<i>Brixiense,</i>			
<i>Anglican</i>			
		Chap V.	36
		— VI.	2
<i>Arelatense III.</i>		— VI.	2
<i>Vercellense,</i>	}	Chap. VII.	7
<i>Turonense,</i>		<i>Ibid.</i>	8
<i>Rom. sub Nicol. II.</i>		<i>Ibid.</i>	9
<i>Rom. sub Greg. VII.</i>		<i>Ibid.</i>	12
<i>Esteran. sub Innoc. III.</i>		<i>Ibid.</i>	18
<i>Constantiense,</i>		<i>Ibid.</i>	28
<i>Florentinum,</i>	}	<i>Ibid.</i>	30
<i>Tridentinum,</i>		<i>Ibid.</i>	31

A Table of the Popes.

L EO IX.	Chap. VII.	Art. 7
<i>Victor II.</i>	—	8
<i>Nicholas II.</i>	—	9
<i>Gregory VII.</i>	—	12
<i>Innocent III.</i>	—	18, 19, &c.
<i>Gregory IX.</i>	Chap. VI.	7
<i>Gregory XI.</i>	Chap. VII.	24, 27
	— VI.	2
<i>Engenius IV.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	30
<i>Pius IV.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	31
	— IV.	7
		A

A Table.

A Table of the Historians.

P Hotius,	Chap. V	Art. 24
Tribem.	—	31
Malmesbury,	—	31, 32
	VII.	4, 6, 13
Antonius,	Ibid.	32
Vincentius,	V, & VII.	12
Sigebert,	Ibid.	36
	VII.	6
Thevet,	Chap. VII.	4
Pap. Mass.	Chap. VII.	9
Mat. Paris,	—	6, 20
M. Westm.	Ibid.	
Baronius,	—	9, 12
Sigonius,	—	9
Chron. Cassin.	—	13
Engilb. Trevir.	—	13
Bertold. Const.	}	
Benno Card.		
Abbas Usperg.	Ibid.	
Otho Frising.	Ibid.	16
Platina,	—	20
Tho. Walsing.	}	
Discip. de Temp.		
Cesarinus Monach.	Ibid.	21
Leunclavius,	—	26
Easicius,	—	30

A Table of the Confessions of Reformed Churches.

A Nglican.	Chap. II.	Art. 3
Angustan.	Ibid.	8
Saxon.	—	9
		Wittemberg.

A Table.

Wittenberg.	IV	_____	Art. 10
Bohem.	IV	_____	11
Rolon.	VI. quid	_____	12 & 19
Argentini. & Basil.	quid	_____	13
Gallica,	quid	_____	14 & 15
Belgica,		_____	16
Helvet. prior & posterior.		Ibid.	17 & 18

A Table of the Reformed Authors.

I Uther,	Chap. II.	Art. 13
Bucerus,	}	
Zuinglius,		
Oecolamp.		
Poinetus,	_____	4
Juellus,	_____	3
Bilfon.	_____	5
Andrews,	_____	
Jacobus Rex,	_____	6
Hooker.	}	
Joh. Episc. Roffenf.		
Montacut.		
Armachan.		
Franc. Episc. Eliens.		
Land.	}	
Overal.		
Anton. de Dom.	Ibid.	7
Calvinus,	Ibid.	20
Colloq. Ratisb.	Chap. V.	22

A Table of the Papists Authors.

Bellarmin.	Chap. III.	Art. 1, & 2
	IV.	7
	V.	3, 5, 18, 21, 22
		Salmeron,

A Table

	— VI.	10, 13, 14, 16
	— VII.	17, 22, 30
<i>Salmeron,</i>	Chap. IV.	7
<i>Telet,</i>	Chap. IV.	7
<i>Roffens.</i>	Chap. V.	3
<i>Perron.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	13
<i>Passevin.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	18, 35
	— VII.	17
<i>Steph. Gard.</i>	Chap. V.	18
<i>Greg. de Valen.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	21
<i>Præfat. in Theod.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>Sirmond.</i>	—	25
<i>Ibo. Walden.</i>	—	31
	— VII.	12
<i>Index lib. prob.</i>	Chap. V.	35
<i>Indices Expurg.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>Sixt. Senens.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>Vasquez.</i>	Chap. V.	2
	— VII.	24
<i>Direct. Inquis.</i>	Chap. VI.	12
	— VII.	24
<i>Alph. à Castro,</i>	Chap. VI.	16
<i>Discursus de Jesuit.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>Watson quodlib.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>Garetius,</i>	Chap. VII.	4
<i>Alanus,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>Lanfrancus</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	5, 7, 10
<i>Guismundus</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	11
<i>P. Blesens.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	17
<i>St. Edmens.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>Gerson,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	22
<i>Catechis. Trid.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	30
<i>De Capite Fontium,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	
<i>Algerus,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	24
<i>Gratianni Glossator,</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>	11

F I N I S.

16
30
7
7
3
13
35
17
18
21

25
31
12
35

2
24
12
24
16

4
7, 10
11
17

22
30
24
18